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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In this edition the book has undergone a thorough revision, and has been considerably enlarged. There is hardly a page in the book that has not been revised. In the First Part, dealing with the Hindu Period, an interesting and useful chapter on India and the Outside World is newly added, showing the magnitude of the commercial and colonial enterprises of ancient Indians and describing the principal ports of ancient India. In the Second Part, dealing with the Muhammadan Period, much additional matter has been incorporated so as to make it as complete as the Hindu Period. In the previous edition the British Period had not been materially changed, but now this is so completely revised and so considerably enlarged as to appear almost a new book. Greater attention is paid to the Portuguese policy and empire in India as well as to the British Empire-builders like Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Hastings, and Dalhousie. The history of India under the Crown has been further extended from the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon to that of Lord Chelmsford. Besides, a very important chapter is newly added on the Growth of Indian Constitution and the Development of Representative Institutions down to the famous Government of India Act of 1919, and this chapter closes with a brief outline of the present system of Imperial and Provincial Administration as well as of Local Self-Government. The Appendix of University Questions has been brought up to date by the insertion of the questions of even the latest examination in September last. The most obvious outward change in the present edition is the smaller, more handy size of the book—a feature which must, in a special manner, appeal to students.

In the present form, the book will be found to be something more than mere "notes," and is, in fact, a book that combines the advantages of an analysis with those of a text-book. Though it is specially written to satisfy the requirements of B. A. students, those of the Intermediate course will find it quite a convenient text-book for their use.

St. Aloysius' College,
Mangalore,
3rd December, 1923.

C. J. Varkey

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

The object of this Book, like the companion volumes on the History of Greece and of Rome, is not to supersede the ordinary text-books and standard works on the vast subject of Indian History, but only to give the students the necessary help in studying them. In the selection of matter, special attention has been paid to the requirements of the B. A. Degree Examination. At the beginning of each chapter references to standard works are given, and the students will find them of great service to them for additional reading. The frequent use of quotations is intended to make the students acquainted with the different standard authors and to stimulate in them an interest in the study of the History of India. The special feature of the book is the *Analytical Method*, adopted in the arrangement of topics and the presentation of matter, which, I am sure, will greatly facilitate a clear grasp and an intelligent study of the subject.

St. Aloysius' College,
Mangalore,
8th January, 1920.

C. J. Varkey

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of the book was published mainly for the use of my own students of the B. A. course. However owing to repeated demand for the book from students of other Colleges of the Madras University as well as of other Universities, the first edition was sold out within a year of its publication—a fact which shows that the first edition, in spite of its manifold imperfections, was appreciated by students of Indian History. As orders for the book have been pouring in from all quarters, I have been forced to bring out a second edition immediately, in spite of the high cost of printing.

In the second edition several material changes have been made. The first part on the Hindu Period, which was not published in the first edition, has been included in this. In several chapters of the second part on the Muhammadan Period, much new matter has been incorporated to make the subject as complete as possible, and a better analysis has been adopted. In the third part, dealing with the British Period, the treatment of the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has been amplified, and three special appendices on "Parliamentary Interference and Charter Acts," "The Maratta History from 1761 to 1818," and "The Afghan and North-West Frontier Question," have been added on with the help of the recent publication—*History of British India under the Company and the Crown* by P. E. Roberts. A very useful Appendix of Questions set for the B. A. Degree Examination of the Madras University since 1913, has been added at the end, in which the questions are grouped together according to the divisions of the book in order to facilitate the revision of a particular topic with the help of the questions set on it. The book, in the present form, is of great service to students of Indian History, and, in a special manner, to those who have not had the benefit of a regular course of lectures on the subject.

ST. ALOYSIUS' COLLEGE,
MANGALORE,
29TH OCTOBER, 1921.

C. J. Varkey

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PART I. THE HINDU PERIOD

BOOK I

PRELIMINARY—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

CHAPTER I. THE GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

[Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India,* Introduction, pp. i—xiii; K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar's *Pre-Musulman Period,* Introduction pp. 1—6; Marsden's *History of India,* Part I, Ch. I; Prothero and Vidyabhusana's *Pre-Musulman Period of Indian History,* Ch. I.]

1. Preliminary.

A. **Extent of India**—In the *narrowest* sense, India means the geographical unit bounded on the north, north-west, and north-east by the Himalayan ranges and their continuations and elsewhere by the Indian ocean. In the *broadest* sense, India includes India Proper, and the three outlying regions of Baluchistan and Eastern Afghanistan to the north-west, Burma to the north-east and the island of Ceylon to the south. The term has often been used either to denote the whole extent of territory thus marked off or only a portion thereof.

B. **Divisions of India Proper**—India is generally divided into *four* main divisions:—The Himalayan region consisting of the double wall of the Himalayas extending for 1700 miles; the Great North Indian Plains extending for about 700 miles and subdivided into the western, central and eastern plains, watered by the Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers respectively; the Dakhan, a triangular plateau, bounded by the Vindhya and Satpura ranges on the north and by the Western and Eastern Ghats; and the South Indian Plains of the Madras Presidency.

C. Relation between Geography & History—Richard Hakluyt truly observed, "Geographie and Chronologie are the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left eye of all history." The lives of nations are to a large extent moulded by their surroundings. It will, therefore, be useful to begin the study of Indian history by realising some of the main geographical features of the country, which had a direct bearing on the historical growth of the peoples of India. The main features which have influenced Indian history are the relief, coast-line, climate and position.

2. The Relief.

A. The Himalayan Region—The Himalayas have marked off India as a separate geographical unit, forming a well marked boundary on its northern side. The Himalayan ranges have protected India from invasions on the north. However, the barriers of India are not impassable: the mountain walls on the north-west and north-east are pierced by many passes, through some of which India has been subjected to a series of invasions and changes in her political development. If the interest attaching to the gradual evolution of political institutions is lacking and autocracy is substantially the chief form of Government, these features are due to the constant invasions by foreigners or by neighbouring powers. The Himalayas, moreover, partly accounts for the wealth of Northern India, since in the first place they prevent the cold winds from the Tibetan plateau and secondly they supply the northern plains with a large and constant supply of water.

B. The Northern Plains—The fertile river plains have been historically of the most importance. The northern plain is the most fertile, densely peopled, and wealthy part of India. Population tends to converge in well-watered tracts. Thanks to the great rivers whose course trade and dominion follow, there has always been a tendency for commercial and political union of the inhabitants of these plains. The fertility of the plains and the prosperity of its cities have attracted many invaders, and have made the history of the north more important than that of the south.

C. The Dakhan—Being enclosed on all sides by mountains and almost inaccessible forests, the plateau remained isolated and had a separate history of its own. The races have been distinct and they occupied a secondary place in the history of India. There was a tendency to keep North Indian history apart from that of the Dakhan. However, as the defences are not complete and effective being of low elevation, and as the Vindhyan jungle ceased to be impassable in later years, the great powers of Hindoostan have often extended their sway over the plateau and conversely, the great powers of the Dakhan have also been able to conquer and maintain their dominion to the north as the Marathas and to the south as the Bhamani and Vijayanagar kings.

D. The South Indian Plains—The western coastal plain faced some of the great seats of civilisation such as Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, and in consequence could develop more rapidly in commerce and civilisation while the east coast remained isolated. Neverthless, due to the large rivers, the eastern plain was the scene of extensive kingdoms. The descent from the highlands of Mysore to the plains is more abrupt towards the west than towards the south or the east, and consequently the plateau of the Dakhan, especially Mysore, has dominated historically the eastern and southern plains, more than the adjoining narrow strip on the west, in which developed several independent and semi-independent powers till the expansion of the British power along the west coast.

3. The Coast-line and Islands.

A. Description—The coast-line of India is practically unbroken and harbourless. The estuaries of its great rivers are shallow and silt-covered and hence unfit for navigation. There are no islands close to the coast so that they might form stepping-stones for the timid navigation of the ancient days.

B. Importance—Due to such unbroken and harbourless coast-line and absence of islands, India has not been able to develop great commercial powers. Throughout her long history, India has not given birth to any martime power. It was with

the coming of Vasco da Gama that Indian history was revolutionised by opening up the country to bold adventurers coming by sea. "The country now is at the mercy of the power which commands the sea, and could not possibly be helped by any power unable to control the sea routes. The strategical importance of the north-western passes has declined as that of Bombay and Karachi has risen." (Vincent Smith).

4. Climate and Position.

A. Climate—The richness of the plains of Hindoostan due to its natural resources, has made its inhabitants wealthy, learned and civilized; but the heat of those plains rendered them weaker than the tribes which inhabited the cold upland countries to the north and north-west. The Marathas of the uplands of the Dakhan are stronger and more warlike than the people of Bengal, while the Pathans of the Suleiman mountains are more powerful than the Marathas.

B. Position—"Shut in as they have been from the outside world, by the sea and the mountains, the nations of India have made themselves what they are. Their habits, their dress, their religion, their laws, their learning, their castes have been what they have themselves thought out aud found to be best for themselves; they are nearly all their own. We say *nearly*, because [the Persians], the Greeks, and in the middle ages the Arabs, and in very modern times the Europeans, have brought into the country some of the knowledge, the learning, the arts and sciences and inventions of the western world . . . . . . There has always been, so far as we know, a rush of the outside world into India, but a rush the other way, from India to the outside world, has scarcely ever been known." (Marsden, p. 11).

CHAPTER II. THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

[Rangaswamy, Ch. I-II; Prothero, Ch. I; Marsden, Ch III-V.]

1. Preliminary.

A. The Racial Mixture in India—Mankind is usually grouped into three great races—the "white" or Caucasian, the "yellow" or Mongolian, and the "black". or Negro. Scholars consider the population of India to be the result of the mingling of these three races, for physical peculiarities of each of these families are to be found in India, either in their purity or in different grades of fusion.

B. Divisions of the Population—The tests of races are philology and anthropology. Affinity of language, though not always, is generally an argument of ethnic affinity. But the best criteria to determine distinctions of race are based on anthropological peculiarities. (Prothero, p. 24). According to *philology*, the population may be divided into four groups—the Indo-Chinese or Mongoloid, the Munda or Kolarain, the Dravidian, and the Indo-European family. According to *anthropological* peculiarities, there are as many as seven classes—Turko-Iranian, Indo-Aryans, Aryo-Dravidian, Scytho-Dravidian, Mongolo-Dravidian, Mongoloid, and Dravidian.

2. The Earliest Inhabitants of India.

A. Sources of Information—*Geologists* tell us that many thousands of years ago India was linked with South Africa to the west and with Australasia to the east, *Archaeology* has revealed artificial human markings on trees buried under the matter thrown out by the long extinct volcanoes of the Dakhan, as well as roughly clipped weapons of flint and rude burial mound and circles of unhewn stones throughout the peninsula.

B. Inference—It has been inferred that the people who made these belonged to the group now represented by the Andamanese, viz., a branch of the Negro family.

2. The Early Immigrants.

A. The Dravidians—They entered the country either through the north-west and north-east frontiers or through the southern submerged Indo-African tract. Some scholars even consider them to have been the original inhabitants, which is opposed to their traditions. They were once dominant all over India and came into contact with the later immigrants who either drove them to the hilly regions or mixed with them.

B. The Mongolians—Their original home lay in China. Branches of this race entered Tibet and Burma, and some of these found their way southwards towards Assam and Bengal. They were short men, with broad heads, flat noses and yellowish colour. They gradually mixed with other races whom they fought at first. The Huns, who invaded the country centuries later, belonged to the same race.

C. The Aryans—*The First Immigration*—Scholars are not agreed as to the original dwelling-place of the Indo-Europeans. Southern Russia is regarded by many as the probable home of the Aryans. In course of time they began to emigrate to other lands—one branch entered Europe and became the parent of the Greek, Latin, Keltic and Teutonic nations, and another moved eastwards and first settled down in Bactria which in ancient times was a very fertile region. Later on they moved southwards—one section turned to the west and settled in Persia while another turned to the east and entered India through the Kabul Pass. These were the forerunners of the later immigrations of the same race. *The Second Immigration*—The second stream of Aryans made their way through a long and hilly course and does not seem to have been accompanied by many women. (Marsden p. 35). For this reason they have mingled much more freely wth the Dravidians than the earlier immigrants. *Their Civilisation*—They were a cultured people and not savages. They possessed waggons and boats, they knew to make arms of copper and iron, to make clothes, to build houses, and they knew elementary numbers and divided the year by means of the moon; hence they had the "Lunar months".

CHAPTER III. THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

[Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*, Ch. I, Sec. II; Rapson, *Ancient India*, Ch. I; Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Ch. I-VI.]

1. Introduction.

A. Absence of Ancient Historical Compilations— "Ancient India has no Herodotus or Thucydides, no Livy or Tacitus." (Rapson, p. 16) Before the middle of the seventh century B. C. we have no dated history. We have no historical works written by the ancient Indians. Nevertheless, the early literature, composed chiefly in the Sanskrit, Pali and Tamil languages, supplies abundant material, most of which is accessible in one or other European tongue. Thanks to the labours of innumerable scholars, European, American, and Indian, we are able to draw an outline sketch of ,he beginnings of Indian life and history. However as we enter the historic period after 650 B. C, we have several sources of information.

B. Four Sources of Information—The sources of, or original authorities for, the early history of India, may be arranged in four classes—The *tradition*, chiefly as recorded in native literature, the writings of *foreign* travellers and historians, containing observations on Indian subjects, the evidence of *archaeology*—the monumental, the epigraphic and the numismatic, and the few works of native *contemporary literature*, dealing expressly with historical subjects. (Smith).

We may, for convenience of study, group them as follows:—

(*a*) Literary
- (1) Indian
  - 1. Tradition.
  - 2. Contemporary.
- (2) Foreign

(*b*) Archaeological
- (1) Monumental.
- (2) Epigraphic.
- (3) Numismatic.

2. The Ancient Tradition.

A. Nature and Value—There are threee classes of tradition—Brahmanic. Jain and Buddhist. This literature is

enormous in extent and most varied in character. No species of composition, whether in prose or verse, is unrepresented, and few phases of human intellectual activity remain without their record. If we compare any ancient Indian literature with the Greek and Latin classics, we shall find one striking deficiency: in none of them has the art of historical composition been developed beyond its earliest stages. Its sources—heroic poems, legendary chronicles, ancient genealogies—are indeed to be found in abundance. But the evidences of tradition have to be corroborated by the writings of foreign travellers and archaeological evidences.

B. The Traditionary Sources—The Kashmir Chronicle composed in the twelfth century, which is in form the nearest approach to a work of regular history in extant Sanskrit literature, contains a large body of confused ancient traditions, which can be used only with much caution. It is also of high value as a trustworthy record of local events. The great Sanskrit epics, the Mahabharata and Ramayana, contain traditional pictures of social life in the epic or heroic age, but do not seem to contain much of political history of states during the historical period. The works of Sanskrit Grammarians also contain many incidental references to ancient tradition, which collectively amount to a considerable addition to historical knowledge. The sacred books of the Jain sect also contain numerous valuable historical statements and allusions. The Jataka or Birth stories and other books of the Buddhists include many incidental references to the political condition of India in the fifth and sixth centuries B. C. They contain genuine historical tradition. The Sinhalese stories, the Chronicles of Ceylon in the Pali language, of which the best known are the Dipavamsa and the Mahavamsa, offer several discrepant versions of early Indian traditions, chiefly concerning the Maurya dynasty; but they demand cautious criticism as other records of popular and religious tradition. The most systematic record of Indian historical tradition is that preserved in the dynatic lists of the Puranas. "Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the puranic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition." (Smith).

3. The Writings of Foreigners.

A. **Persian**—The earliest foreign notice of India is that in the inscriptions of the Persian king, Darius, son of Hystaspes, at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum, the latter of which may be referred to 486 B. C.

B. **Greek**—Herodotus, who wrote late in the fifth century, contributes valuable information concerning the relations between India and the Persian Empire, which supplement the less detailed statements of the inscriptions. The fragments of the works of Ktesias of Knidos, who was physician to Artaxerxes in 401 B. C., are of very slight value. The report of the officers of Alexander, especially Ptolemy gave to Europe a more correct information regarding India. Megasthenes and other envoys sent to Indian courts by the kings of Syria and Egypt, record careful observations of the country, and are especially valuable.

C. **Roman**—Arrian, a Graeco-Roman official of the second century A. D., wrote a capital description of India as well as an admirable critical history of Alexander's invasion. Quintus Curtius and other authors, who essayed to tell the story of Alexander's Indian campaign, are far inferior in value.

D. **Chinese**—Ssu-ma-ch'ien, the Chinese "Father of History," who completed his work about 100 B. C., is the first of a long series of Chinese historians who throw much light on the early history of India. "The accurate chronology of the Chinese authors gives their statements peculiar value." (Smith). Fa-hien is the first of the long series of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who continued to visit India for several centuries. He recorded his fifteen years' journey from 399 to 415, and his book includes a very interesting and valuable description of the government and social condition of the Gangetic provinces during the reign of Chandra-Gupta II, Vikramaditya. Huen Tsang, the prince of pilgrims, and Master of the Buddhist Law, who visited the whole of India, except the extreme south, from 629 to 645 or 646, has described his travels in his work, entitled "Records of the Western World." It is "a treasure-house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian antiquity, and has done more

than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian history." (Smith).

4. The Archaeological Sources.

A. **Monumental**—The monumental evidences, considered apart from the inscriptions on the walls of buildings, offer little direct contribution to political history, but they help us in realising the power and magnificence of the ancient kingdoms.

B. **Epigraphic**—"Unquestionably the most copious and important source of early Indian history is the epigraphic." (Smith). "It is almost entirely from a patient examination of the inscriptions, the start in which was made more than a century ago, that our knowledge of the ancient political history of India has been derived." (Fleet, Imperial Gazetteer, p. 3). The inscriptions may be grouped into three classes:—the Ethical (or sermons on stone); edicts of Asoka form a class by themselves; the Commemorative or dedicatory, incised on stone; and the Donative inscriptions (or grants) are mostly engraved on plates of copper. The south of India is peculiarly rich in inscriptions of almost all kinds, both on stone and copper, and these number several thousands. But these south Indian inscriptions are of comparatively recent date, the records prior to VII century A. D., being very few, and hence they are inferior in interest to the rarer northern documents.

C. **Numismatics**—The study of many classes of Indian coins has considerably helped the student of Indian history. From the time of Alexander's invasion coins afford invaluable aid to the researches in every period, and for the Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties, they constitute almost the sole evidence.

5. The Contemporary Literature.

A. **Nature**—"It has been said above that the Hindus have not bequeathed to us any historical work which can be accepted as reliable for any early times." (Fleet, *I. G.* p. 5). This kind of literature is of very limited extent, comprising only two works in Sanskrit and a few poems in Tamil, and none of these is pure history: they are all of a romantic character with embellishment, though they contain much of historial matter.

B. Examples—The best known work of this class is "Deeds of Harsha" *(Harsha-Charita)* of Bana, about 622 A. D., in praise of his master and patron, King Harsha, which, in spite of obvious faults, is of high value. Another of this class is "The Deeds of Vikramanka" by Bilhana, of the XII century A. D., in praise of a powerful king (1076-1126 A. D). The earliest of the Tamil poems belonging to this class of literature is believed to date from VI or VII century A. D. Thus the rough material for early Indian history is not so scanty as has been supposed.

6. Indian Chronology.

A. Absence of Definite Chronology—"The obstacles which have hitherto prevented the construction of a continuous narrative of Early Indian History are due, not so much to the deficiency of material, as to the lack of definite chronology." Definite chronological history begins about 650 B. C. for Northern India and much later for the Dakhan and Southern India. Even in the north all approximate dates before the invasion of Alexander in 326 B. C. are obtained only by reasoning back from the known to the unknown. The earliest absolutely certain precise date is 326 B. C.

B. The Difficulties of Indian Chronology (Oxford History, p. xv)—In the first place, more than thirty different eras have been used in Indian annals from time to time. In the attempt to determine the beginning of these various eras are involved difficulties of various kinds, especially astronomical. Though those difficulties have been surmounted to a large extent, many obscurities still remain. Numerous dates are recorded in one fashion or another, but the various authorities are often contradictory, and usually open to more than one interpretation. Dates expressed only in regnal years, such as 'in the 8th year after coronation,' are not of much use unless we can find out by other means the time when the king lived. Very often the year is given simply 'the year 215,' or the like, without mention of the era used, which to the writer needed no specification. Again, an era may be named, but its original date is uncertain.

C. **Synchronisms**—Several puzzles have been solved by the use of 'synchronisms,' that is, by the use of stray bits of information showing that King A of unknown date was contemporary with King B of known date. The date of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya has been determined by his identification with "Sandrakottos," the contemporary of Seleukos Nikator, according to Greek authors. Later on, the synchronism of Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, with Antiochus Theos, grandson of Seleukos, and four other Hellenistic princes, has been established, These two synchronisms have placed the chronology of the Maurya dynasty on a firm basis. The testimony of the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, determined certain dates in the seventh century A. D. Another synchronism which has been established is that of Samudragupta with king Meghavarna of Ceylon (304-332 A. D.). Fleet's determination of the Gupta era as beginning in 319-20 A. D., and Fahien's account of Northern India at the beginning of the fourth century, and Sylvian Levi's publication of Samudragupta's synchronism have removed almost all the difficulties which continued to embarass the chronology of the Gupta period. A connected history of the Andhra dynasty has been rendered possible by the establishment of synchronisms between the Andhra Kings and the Western Satraps (To be seen later on). The Chronology of the South Indian dynasties and the dates of the Pallavas have also been determined by synchronisms.

D. **Three Principal Eras**—With the help of these synchronisms, scholars have been able to determine the three principal eras of early Indian history:—(1) The Vikrama Era—58 B. C.; (2) The Saka Era—78 A. D.; and (3) The Gupta Era—319 A. D. Each of these dates marks the establishment of a great power in some part of India.

BOOK II

THE RATIONALISTIC AGE

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

[Dutt's *Ancient India*, Epochs I-II; Prothero, Ch. II; Rangaswamy, Ch. III; Marsden, Ch, V-VII.]

1. The Divisions of the Hindu Period.

1. The Vedic Age— B. C. 2000—1400.
2. The Epic Age— B. C. 1400—1000.
3. The Rationalistic Age—B. C. 1000—320.
4. The Buddhist Age—B. C. 320—A. D. 400.
5. The Puranic Age— A. D. 400—800.
6. The Rajaput Age— A. D. 600—1200.
7. The South Indian History.

2. The Vedic Age—2000—1400 B. C.

A. **Sources of Information**—We learn the nature of the earliest stage of Aryan civilisation from the Rig Veda, a collection of hymns to various deities compiled between 2000 and 1400 B. C. In the Rig Veda the name Aryans is used to distinguish the invaders from the aborigines of India, called Dasas or Dasyus. The Vedas are the oldest Sanskrit Sacred Books, and are four in number—the Rig Veda, thd Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda and the Atharva Veda. The name Veda is confined to the *unwritten* knowledge, and hence called the *Shruti*.

B. **The Civilisation of the Aryans in the Vedic Age**—(*a*) Political—The Aryans lived in the *tribal* polity, and each tribe lived an independent life, though they had common laws and customs. There were mainly 70 tribes. Kingship was hereditary, but there were examples of elective kingship. There were also the other two elements of Aryan polity—the Council and the

Popular Assembly. Besides monarchical states, we come across republics also. The unit of administration was the village. Hundred villages formed a group under a governor appointed by the king. (*b*) Social and Economic—The chief occupation was agriculture. The Aryans irrigated the land by canals and wells. Barley and wheat were the principal produce of the field, and rice was as yet unknown. Animal food was however also indulged in. (Dutt, p. 21). The simpler arts of civilised life were practised by the Punjab Hindus—carpentry, weaving, working of metals, especially gold, silver and iron. They had armour, helmets, javelins, swords and arrows, necklaces, bracelets and anklets, and golden crowns. Their amusements consisted in chariot racing, hunting elephants and tigers, and gambling. They had extensive trade; with south India they traded for elephants, sandal wood and pearls which they bartered for horses and incense. They had trade by sea with Babylon, but the sea trade was chiefly in the hands of the Dasyus. (*c*) Religious—"The Aryans in India worshipped first as they feared; then as they admired; and finally as they reasoned." This is the key to the characteristics of the Hindu religion in the Vedic, Epic, and Puranic ages. (Prothero, p. 28). The religion of the Hindus in the Vedic Age was the worship of Nature leading up to Nature's God. (Read Dutt, Ch. IV).

C. Political Condition of Vedic India—There were *three* Vedic tribal states—the Tritsus, the most important, the Puras, and the Bharatas. The Tritsus occupied the territory between the Sutlej and Saraswati, the Puras occupied modern Kashmir, and the Bharatas the lower valley of these rivers. The first great battle on the Indian soil was "The Battle of the Ten Kings" between the Tritsus and their allies on one side and the Puras and Bharatas on the other. (See Marsden's Map: p. 48).

3. The Epic Age—1400-1000 B. C.

A. Sources of Information—There are two classes of literature—the *Sruti* (what is heard) the unwritten sacred lore, and the *Smriti* (memory). The Sruti consists of the four Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The

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Smritis are the two epics of Mahabarata by Vyasa and Ramayana by Valmiki, (the former an heroic epic and the latter a didactic one), Dharma Sāstras or Law Books (of Manu), and Puranas (or old stories). The two epics represent distinct stages in the expansion of the Aryans—The Mahabarata depicts the expansion in the Gangetic plain and the Ramayana tells the story of their conquest of South India. Besides their historical value, they are looked upon as national possessions like Homer's epics for the Greeks. (Rangaswamy, p. 33).

B. The Civilisation of the Aryans in the Epic Age— *(a)* Political Institutions—The Central Government consisted of a king, who ruled as a benevolent despot, assisted by a council of the nobles and an assembly of the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. (Marsden, p. 72). The Local Government—The lowest political unit was the village or grama, which had its own headman, and ten such headmen had an officer over them. This shows there was a real progress. Each of these headmen had to report to their superior about the crimes and defects in the village. The headman could take the forest produce as a compensation for his work. Over all these officers, there was a Revenue Minister to look to the collection of gold and corn. The king's revenue came from land-rent, taxes on trade, taxes on salt, mines, and ferries, and all elephants belonged to the king. He also had a right to the forced labour of artizans and labourers. *(b)* Social—The Code of Manu lays down in its Twelve Books rules regulating the state and its subjects. (Prothero, p. 45). The Code explains the position and relations of the four castes—the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. On the question of the origin of the caste system, there is great divergence of opinion—Prothero, p. 49, for the Profession Theory of Maine and Race Theory of Risley and Rangaswamy p. 95 for the probably true origin. The caste system has played a great but silent part in Indian history. It had several good features. Society was made independent of political changes, the Aryan element was saved from being overwhelmed by the superior members of the non-Aryan population. In course, however, many evils also began to result from the system. (Read Rangaswamy, p. 27).

C. The Political Condition of Epic India—In this age there was great fusion between Aryans and earlier population. The Aryan clans grew into nations, each of which was either a state, ruled by a council of nobles or elders, or a kingdom, governed by a king. The scene of political activity changes from the Indus to the Gangetic valley. There were five principal states:—The Kurus or the Bharatas in the territory around Delhi or the Upper Valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. They were probably a blend of the Purus and the Tritsus of the Vedic age. From them came a long line of kings in later times known as the Lunar race. They claimed to have the purest Aryan customs. From them the land took the name of Bharata-varta. The Panchalas were a nation of five tribes, dwelling between the Jumna and the Ganges with Kampilya as their capital. The Kosalas were in modern Oudh with their capital Ayodhya. Their great national hero was Rama, and from them came a long line of kings called the Solar race. The Videhas lived to the east of the Kosalas, from whom they were separated by the river Gandak, in modern Bihar. In the course of years this became the largest and strongest state in Northern India. Janaka, the father of Sita, the most famous monarch of Northern India, was the King of the Videhas. (Read Marsden, p. 71). The Kasis, the fifth great nation of the Epic Age, had for its capital Kasi, now Benares, the most sacred city to the Hindu, in northern India. Their best known king was a famous Kshatriya, named Ajata-Satru. These five states formed Arya-varta, the centre of Aryan power and learning, of light and civilisation, and occupied modern United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. There were also several non-Aryanized tribes. (See Marsden's map, p. 73 and Rangaswamy's map, p. 24).

CHAPTER II. JAINISM AND BUDDHISM

[Rangswamy, Ch. III-IV; Prothero Ch. III; Marsden, Ch, XV-XVI; Dutt, Epoch III, Ch. III-IV.]

1. The Causes of the Rise of New Religions.

A. Condition of Religion at the close of the Epic Period—Towards the end of the Epic Age, we perceive a "mental stir," of religious and moral doubts and speculation between 1000 and 500 B. C. The Upanishads and the Epics contain pictures of this new feature. During this epoch "Such subtle problems as the nature of the soul, the existence of a Supreme Power, the government of the universe by natural laws, the meaning of Death, tbe probability of life after death, and the causes of pain and suffering in the world, engaged the attention of the thoughtful." (Rangaswamy).

B. Causes of the Mental Stir—The altered condition of Aryan life promoted religious thought. It was a period of Aryan expansion over Chedi (Bundlekand), Nishada (Malwa), and Vidarbha (the Behars). Bulk of the community was free from military service as a new warrior class rose. Fighting was confined to the frontiers and peace reigned in the kingdom.

C. Results of the Mental Stir—The chief results of this mental stir were the tendency to look at the moral rather than physical side of things, at the spirit rather than the form, the development of a habit of analysis, the rise of new theories, "which are notable as containing the framework of much of the later Indian thought," the origin of four new philosophical systems—the Samkhya, the Purva-mimamsa, the Yoga, and the Vedanta, and the rise of two new religions—*Jainism* and *Buddhism*. These two religions "owed much of their popularity to the confident manner in which they offered solutions to the problem of transmigration." They are looked upon by some as a revolt against Hinduism and by others as purer forms of it.

2. Jainism.

A. The Founder—Mahavira (599-527 B. C.)—Jainism made its appearance a little before Buddhism. "Jainism" is derived from "Jina," meaning "one who has conquered self and desire." Mahavira, also called Vardhamana or Jnatiputra, was born of the Jnati section of the Kshatriyas, who dwelt near Vaisali. He appears to have been highly connected. His mother's brother Chetaka was a member of the governing body of the powerful oligarchy of Vaisali, and the ruling family at Magadha was also nearly related to him through his cousin Chellana, the wife of King Bimbisara and mother of his famous successor, Ajatasatru. Thus he belonged to an influential aristocracy—a fact which helped the spread of Jainism. (For a detailed life of Mahavira, see Rangaswamy, p. 36.)

B. His Teaching—The membership within his fold, and the consequent salvation, were open to all persons alike—the Aryan, the low-born Sudra, and even the despised alien, the Mlechcha. The highest goal of life was the attainment of Moksha, or freedom from the round of birth and death. Its four Dharmas are—liberality, gentleness, piety and penance. Its three restraints are—government of the tongue, mind, and person. The teachings of Mahavira are contained in the Jain Sacred Books, divided into forty-five Siddhantas or Agamas, and these are said to have been collected by a disciple of his, called Indrabhuti. They were handed down by oral tradition till 453 A. D. when at the council of Valabhi they were written down. (Prothero, p. 62).

C. His System—The body of Jains was divided into two classes—the monks and the lay-followers. The former led an austere life of virtue, free from passion and active part in worldly affairs and abstained from all sinful thoughts and actions, including intentional harm by word or deed to any living being, and the latter were those who could not retire from the world and its business, but practised a life of virtuous self-restraint. "In spite of the opposition of its tenets to the principles of Brahmanism, Jainism never became a formidable rival

to the former, as it refrained from an active policy of conversion. (Rangaswamy).

3. Buddhism.

A. **The Founder**—Siddharta, better known by his family name of Gautama and his spiritual title of "the Buddha" (*i. e.*, the enlightened), was born about 557 B. C. at Kapilavastu, a small town in the then fertile and populous Nepalese Tarai. Gautama or Sakya Sinha was the son of Suddhodana, a principal member of the aristocratic republic of the Sakyas. (For the details of his life, see Prothero, p. 57 or Rangaswamy, p. 37.)

B. **His Teaching**—Buddhism avoids all reference to the future life. After he had discovered the emptiness of ceremonials and ascetism, Buddha preached the doctrine of the "Middle Path"—the duty of avoiding sensuality on the one hand and asceticism on the other. (Read Prothero, p. 58). Buddhism is a system of morality based on the "Four Noble Truths"—that life is suffering, that thirst after life is the cause of suffering, that the conquest of this thirst causes cessation of suffering, and that self-culture is the means to conquer thirst after life. It taught that a man can work out his own salvation.

C. **System**—To prevent his teachings dying out and to spread them over the world, he laid the foundation of an order of ascetics, into which women were also admitted. Within this order of monks and nuns caste had no place, and thus he tacitly discouraged caste system.

4. Comparison between Jainism and Buddhism.

A. **Their History**—(*a*) *Origin*—Both religions grew out of Brahmanical Hinduism as modified by the teachings of reformers of noble Kshatriya, and not Brahmanic, birth, who failed to find in the doctrine of the Brahman school satisfactory solutions of the problems of life. Both systems were preached first at about the same time and in the same regions—Magadha or south Bihar and the neighbouring districts. (*b*) *Expansion*—

Both spread subsequently to other regions, and for many centuries divided the allegiance of India with Brahmanism. Their later vicissitudes are marked by several striking contrasts. Buddhism, which at first was but a mere philosophical system, developed into a religion, which after many ages of success in India, slowly died out about the twelfth century and almost completely disappeared from the land of its birth. But still it flourishes abundantly in Ceylon, Burma, and China. Jainism, on the contrary, never attempted distant conquests, and although it became powerful in the south, it never spread to any considerable extent beyond the limits of India, and now tends rather to decrease than increase in influence. Its followers number about a million and a quarter, and are mostly found among the trading classes of western India and Rajaputana.

B. Their Teachings—Both founders shared the pessimism of the times and their fundamental ideas were substantially the same as those of the Upanishads. These ideas in fact are the postulates on which all Indian religions and Indian philosphical systems rest. They hold, one and all, that the individual soul is fast bound by the power of its own Karma to a continuous births and rebirths. The aim of both systems was to free the soul from its mundane fetters by means of the three "jewels." In case of the Jains, these were—Right Faith, Right Knowledge, and Right Action, and in the case of the Buddhists—the Buddha, the Law and the Sangha or the Order of Monks. Distinctive doctrines of these systems were—the rejection of sacrifices and ritualistic magic of the Brahmanical school, and the exclusion of the all Pantheistic speculation of the pre-Buddhist thinkers. But whereas Buddhism rejected the animistic speculations of the Brahmanic school, Jainism preserved them. Prof. Jacobii, the best authority on the history of the Jain sect, sums up the distinctions between Jainism and Buddhism thus. Mahavira was rather of the ordinary class of religious men in India. He may be allowed a talent for religious matters. But he possessed not the genius which Buddha undoubtedly had. The Buddhist philosophy

forms a system based on a few fundamental ideas, whilst that of Mahavira scarcely forms a system: it is merely a sum of opinions on various subjects—no fundamental ideas being there to uphold the mass of metaphysical matter. Besides this, it is the ethical element that gives the Buddhist writings their superiority over those of the Jains. Mahavira treated ethics as corrollary and subordinate to his metaphysics which he was chiefly concerned with.

C. **Their Organisation**—Bramanism is strictly confined to the caste system in which a man's social and religious duties are determined once for all by his birth. Buddhism and Jainism made a wider claim to universality. In theory all distinctions of caste ceased within the community. In practice the firmly established social system has proved too strong for both systems. It is observed by the Jains of the present day, while in India itself it has re-absorbed the Buddhists many centuries ago. Again, Brahmanism is not congregational. Its observances consist partly of caste duties performed by individuals and partly of sacrifices and ceremonies performed for his special benefit by the priestly class. Jainism and Buddhism, on the contrary, were both congregational and monastic. One striking result of this difference is that the most ancient monuments of India teach a great deal about the Jains and the Buddhists and little about the Brahmins. The followers of the two creeds revere distinct saints. The Jains do honour to 24—"Jainas" and the Buddhists to 24—"Buddhas." The nudity affected by one of the two Jain sects—the Digambaras, is extremely offensive to Buddhist feeling. The practice of death by starvation which is highly esteemed by the Jains, is strictly forbidden to the Buddhists.

D. **Their Sacred Scriptures**—Both creeds reject the authority of the Vedas and have distinct scriptures. The Jain scriptures are called the "Agamas," and the Buddhist books form the great collection, known as the "Tripitaka" (three baskets), dealing with doctrine, monastic discipline and philosphical comments and speculation. Whereas the language of the

Brahmanic scriptures is always and everywhere Sanskrit, that of Jain and Buddhist scriptures is that of the particular district or of the particular period to which the particular book or versions belong. The Pali books of Ceylon give the Canon in its earliest known form. Later developments of Buddhism are dealt with in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian books.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA

A. THE GANGETIC VALLEY—RISE OF MAGADHA.

[Smith's *Early History of India,* Ch. II; Rangaswamy, Ch. V, Sec. I; Marsden, Ch. XI and XVIII.]

1. Preliminary.

A. The Limited Character of the History of this Period—Our slender stock of knowledge is limited to the fortunes of the vigorous races, speaking an *Aryan* tongue, occupying the Indus and Gangetic plains. Practically nothing is known concerning the contemporary history of the possibly equally advanced Dravidian races who had spread out throughout India, especially in the Dakhan and South India. And of the history of the Aryan races of the northern plains, our literary sources are mostly pertaining to the affairs of one single Kingdom of *Magadha,* and the "history of that state has to do duty as the history of India, because hardly anything is known about the annals of less prominent Kingdoms." (Oxford History).

B. Sources of Information—(*a*) *Nature*—The works of ancient Indian writers from which our historical data are extracted do not profess to be histories, and are mostly religious treatises of various kinds. In such compositions the secular affairs occupy a very subordinate position. The particulars of political history incidentally recorded refer in consequence to the countries most prominent in the development of Indian religions. (*b*) *Literary works*—(1) On account of the fact that both Mahavira and Gautama were born, lived and died in or near the Kingdom of

Magadha, the *Jain* and *Buddhist* books tell us much about Vrijjian confederacy of which Vaisali was the capital, and about Magadha, with the subordinate Kingdom of Anga. Also the *Puranas*, though the works of Orthodox Brahmans, happily include lists of the kings of Magadha, which had become, before the time of their compilation, the recognised religious and political centre of India. Thus the Jain, Buddhist and Brahmanical books combined tell us much about the history of the principal states of the Gangetic plain in this period. Some light is thrown also by Greek and Roman writers regarding the later period of Magadha history.

2. The Political Development down to 600 B. C.

A. The Epic Period—At the close of the Epic period (x century) the centres of political influence had been on the upper waters of the Jumna and Ganges, and the most powerful kingdoms were those of the Kurus and the Panchalas while those of the Kosalas, Kasis and Videhas were also famous but not so powerful. This may be characterised as the period of the hegemony of the Kurus and the Panchalas.

B. About 650 B. C.—The hegemony of Kosala—During the eighth and seventh centuries, the Epic tribal states were gradually consolidated into powerful kingdoms or republics. By the middle of the seventh century, the Kuru, Panchala, and Kasi Kingdoms had sunk into the back ground, and had come within the political control of the Kingdom of *Kosala*. The Kingdom of Videha was occupied by eight allied tribes, forming the Vrijjian Confederacy, called after the most influential Vrijjians, composed of the Lichchavis of Vaisali and the Videhas of Mithila. In the lower course of the Ganges, *Magadha* was rising to power. Modern Rajputhan and Malwa to the south of the Jumna, formed the Kingdom of *Avanti*, which overshadowed the Matsayas and Surasenas. To the south of the old Kingdom of Kasi, lay the warlike Kingdom of *Vatsa* with its less powerful neighbour Chedi, "forming a buffer between three powerful neighbours—Kosala, Magadha and Avanti." (Rangaswamy. See map, p. 45) Besides these Kingdoms there were

four republican states—the Lichchavis with its capital Visali, the Videhas with Mithila, the Sakyas along the southern border of Nepaul, with Kapilavastu as its capital, and the Mallas in Eastern Nepaul, with their capital Kusinagara.

3. The Rise of Magadha—600—321 B. C.

A. The Chronology of the Dynasties—Magadha was by far the most famous of all the ancient kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. The history of Magadha is more or less the history of Northern India for nearly a thousand years. Several of its rulers were mighty emperors who ruled from their capital Pataliputra, now Patna, over a great part of India. From about B. C. 600 to about A. D. 500, *six* dynasties rose and fell in Magadha.

1.	The Saisunagas	B. C. 600—370	Rise.
2.	The Nandas	B. C. 370—321	
3.	The Mauryas	B. C. 321—184	—Zenith.
4.	The Sungas	B. C. 184— 72	Decline.
5.	The Kanwas	B. C. 72— 27	
6.	The Guptas	A. D. 319—480	—Revival.

B. The Saisunaga Dynasty (600-370)—The earliest line of kings about whom anything is really known is the Saisunaga, founded by Sisunaga (600-495), ruling over a small state, now the Patna district, with its capital Rajagriha, now Rajgir near Gaya. The Puranic lists mention the names of the kings. The second, third and fourth kings are mere names. (1) The first monarch about whom anything substantial is known is *Bimbisara*. He founded the New Rajagriha, the lower town at the base of the hill crowned by the ancient fort. He annexed the small Kingdom of Anga to the east. "The annexation of Anga was the first step taken by the Kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following century; and Bimbisara may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power." (Smith). He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful neighbouring states of Kosala and the Lichchavi. Towards the close of the reign he resigned the

royal powers to his favourite son, and retired into private life. He is said to have done his father to death by the agonies of starvation (Read Smith, p. 32). It is interesting to note that both Mahavira and Gautama preached in Magadha during the reign of Bimbisara. (2) *Ajatasatru* (491–455) succeeded his father and was the ablest of the dynasty. War with Kosala—The murder of his father involved him in war with the aged king of Kosala, whose sister, the queen of the murdered Bimbisara and his step-mother, is alleged to have died from grief. After a long war, in the course of which Ajatasatru was once captured and carried in chains to his uncle's court, peace was concluded and a princess of Kosala was married to him. Kosala is never mentioned as an independent kingdom and in the fourth century B. C. it formed an integral part of the Magadhan empire. The conquest of Kosala may be regarded as the second step in the rise of Magadhan imperial power. War with the Lichchavi—His ambition was next directed towards the Lichchavi clan to the north of the Ganges, in modern Tirhut, then a prominant power. The invasion was successful, and the capital Vaisali was occupied. Thus he became master of the territories to the north of the Ganges. "It is probable that the invader carried his victorious arms to their natural limit, the foot of the mountains, and that from this time the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalayas became subject, more or less directly, to the suzerainty of Magadha." (Smith). This was the third step in the rise of Magadha. He erected a fortress at the village of Patali on the bank of the Ganges in order to curb the Lichchavi rivals. Buddha had an interview with Ajatasatru—an important synchronism. (Read Smith, pp. 33-34), Bimbisara and Ajatasatru were contemporaries of Darius, the son of Hystaspes (521-485 B. C.). (3) *Udaya*, the grandson of Ajatasatru, is said to have founded Pataliputra, known also as Kusumapura and Pushpapura (=Flower-town), on the site of modern Patna, which became the capital of the Maurya dynasty and of India. Of the next two kings we know nothing. Maha-nandin, the last of the Saisunagas, is said to have married a Sudra woman. She fell in love with a barber, named Maha-padma Nanda, who

managed to kill the king and marry her. Slaying all but one of the royal family, he seized the throne and founded the Nanda Dynasty.

C. The Nanda Dynasty (371–321 B. C.)—The accounts of the Nanda Kings in the Puranas and in the Buddhist and the Jain Books are very confusing. The fact that the Nandas were of very low origin and that the first king was very rich, are attested by the Puranas, the Mahavamsa and the account of Hiuen Tsang. (Read Smith, p. 40). The surviving member of the royal dynasty, Chandragupta, fled to the Punjab, and in the reign of the second Nanda king, according to the Greek historians he overthrew the Nanda dynasty and established himself on the throne as the founder of the Maurya dynasty in 321 B C.

D. The Causes of the Growth of the Magadha Kingdom—At this point in the history of this kingdom, we may ask ourselves why Magadha, and not any other kingdom, became mistress of the Gangetic plain. Several causes helped her growth. Geographical—Magadha was one of the most fertile and wealthy Kingdoms of the Gangetic plain. It occupied a central position on the Gangetic river system giving it easy access by a series of waterways to the interior. Political—The weakness or the quarrels of the rivals of Magadha also helped her. In Kosala, king Virudhaka, a feeble and cruel prince, destroyed the Sakyas, the clan to which Buddha belonged. His successors were not even remembered and were evidently insignificant chiefs. Vatsa and Avanti were apparently weakened by the frequent wars and were consequently unable to stand against Magadha. (Rangaswamy, p. 46). Personal—The Kings of Magadha were very able rulers and conquerors, and with the military strength due to its important strategical situation, Magadha became the nucleus of the "First Great Indian Empire" under the famous Maurya Dynasty.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF NORTHERN INDIA

B. THE INDUS PLAIN—FOREIGN INVASIONS

[Vincent Smith, Ch. III—IV; *Oxford History*; p.38—70; Rangaswamy, Ch. II, Sec. 2; Marsden, Ch. XVII; Rapson, Ch. VI Mookerji, *Indian Shipping*, Bk. I, Part II, Ch. I; Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*. Ch. I.]

1. The Early Foreign Contact of India.

A. The Three Ancient Trade Routes—"The present political isolation of India is a comparatively modern feature in its history, and in ancient times, many of the physical impediments also, which now prevent free communication both with the Farther East and with the West, did not exist." (Rapson p. 78). From Pre-Historic times, three great trade routes have connected India with the west. The first and perhaps the most important of them was that which ran from the mouth of the *Red Sea* to India up the Arabian Coast. Its importance lies in the fact that it linked India not only to the gold fields and the fabulously wealthy incense country of South Arabia and Somaliland, but also to Egypt and Judea. Through Judea Indian goods found an outlet by way of the adjacent ports of their allies—Tyre and Sidon, to the Mediterranean. For unknown years, the Egyptians had traded in the Red Sea fetching spices from Arabia. About the 13th century a great impetus to the Red Sea trade was given by the Phoenicians. Solomon's temple got gold from Ophir, the site of which was probably the Malabar Coast. After the death of Solomon and the decline of the Jewish nation, the *Persian Gulf* became the chief trade route between India and Asia Minor. It was the easiest trade route and ran from the mouth of the Indus to the Euphrates, and up the Euphrates to where the route branches off to Antioch and the Levantine ports. The trade was in the hands of the Chaldeans till 694 B. C. when the Phoenicians got the control of the Persian Gulf trade. With the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire, Babylon took the place of Nineva as queen of Western Asia. In the crowded market places of that great city met the races of the world—Ionian traders,

Jewish captives, Phoenician merchants, and Indians from the Panjab who came to sell their wares. Besides, there was a very ancient *overland route* between the Indus valley and the countries north-west of the Hindu Kush. That there were overland communications between the East and the West in Pre-Historic times is inferred from the so-called Aryan invasion of India. The route started from the Indus valley through the north-west passes to Balk in Bactria, through which ran the route to China and Trans-Caspian regions. Indian elephants and Bactrian camels must have been taken to the west by this overland route.

B. The Nature and Results of the Early Contact—The contact between the East and the West before the time of the Persian King Cyrus was not political, but purely commercial. 1500 B. C. has been fixed as the date from which regular trade began. But the Tamil writers step far into the second and even the third millenium. India exported cotton, iron, precious metals and spices, and took in return wine, horses and corals. This commercial contact of the Semitic and Aryan races benefitted the Indians: the development of Indian astronomy has been helped by Chaldean influence; the idea of punch-marked coins and perhaps a system of weights and measures came from Babylonia; and perhaps brick-making and wood-carving were learnt from the Assyrians. Moreover, this trade promoted Indian colonisation. It is said that there was a colony of the Indians in Babylon for trade purposes. Here the Indians met the Chinese to whom they gave pepper and pearls in exchange for silk and sugar.

2. The Persian Invasion under Darius (516-486 B. C).

A. Sources of Information—The sources, from which our knowledge of the Indian dominions of the Persian Empire is derived, are of two kinds—the inscriptions of King Darius I (522-486 B. C.), and the Greek writers, notably Herodotus and Ktesias. The historical inscriptions of Darius are at three important centres of the ancient kingdom of Persia—Behistum, Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum, and they are engraved in cuneiform characters, (Rapson, p. 82). Herodotus both confirms

and amplifies the information supplied by the inscriptions. "His work is by far the most valuable record of the Persian Empire that has come down to us." The writings of Ktesias, physician during the reign of Darius II and of Artaxerxes Mnemon, are descriptive of the races and the natural products of the country rather than historical.

B. **"India" under Persia**—During the middle of the sixth century B. C. and about the time of the birth of Buddha, a small Aryan power under the leadership of Cyrus, a great conqueror, had risen in Persia and had overthrown the older empires of Babylonia, Assyria, Media and Lydia. By 525 B. C. this new empire embraced the whole area from the Mediterranean sea to the frontiers of India. Between 521-486 B. C. the bounds of the Persian empire were further extended, till they stretched from beyond the Danube to the Indus. Sometimes after 516 B. C. Darius sent his commander Skylax of Caryanda in Caria to explore the Indus valley. He managed somehow to equip a squadron on the Indus in Ghandara, sailed down the river to the sea, and thence round the coast to the Red Sea. The information collected by him was so valuable that by utilising it Darius was enabled to annex the Indus valley, and to send his fleets into the Indian ocean. *The Persian Satrapy in India*—"Although it is not possible to determine the precise extent of the 'Indian' province thus added by Darius to the Persian Empire, yet the information supplied by Herodotus indicates with sufficient clearness that it must have included territories on both sides of the Indus from Ghandhara to its mouth, and that it was separated from the rest of India on the east by vast deserts of sand, evidently the present Thar or Indian Desert. The 'Indian' province, therefore, no doubt included the Western Panjab generally and the whole of Sind." (Rapson, p. 85). The Indian provinces were formed into a separate satrapy, the twentieth, and formed the most populous and richest fiscal division (or nome) of the empire. It paid the enormous tribute of 460 Euboeic talents of gold-dust, worth fully a million sterling, and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces.

C. Results of the Persian Occupation—Though the Indian satrapy was under the Persian control and influence for only a short period, India benefitted by the connection. The contact gave great impulse to the trade of India with the West, which was carried either by overland route or by the sea. This intercourse also doubtless facilitated an interchange of ideas between the two countries, which should have been to their mutual advantage. The introduction of an old form of writing, the Kharoshtri alphabet, and the knowledge of an elaborate system of imperial administration are perhaps the larger benefits accruing to India from this connection. The inscriptions of Asoka are very similar in the *form* used to those of Darius the Great. "The example of the great empire of Persia also not improbably gave birth to the idea of the unification of Northern India." The introduction of stone architecture, as shown by the recent excavations at Patna (the palace of Pataliputra) was also due to the Persian connection. Above all, it brought India into touch with the Greeks, the most progressive people of antiquity, by drawing it within the scheme of conquest of Alexander when he overthrew the Persian empire. (Rangaswamy, p. 48).

D. Sequel to the Persian Occupation—Indian troops are said to have fought under the Persians in Greece during the days of Xerxes, the successor of Darius. "The archers from India [clad in cotton] formed a valuable element in the army of Xerxes, and shared the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea." (Smith). After the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B. C., the Persian empire declined rapidly, and Indian princes became gradually independent and fell away from Persian control, and ceased to pay the tribute. How long the Persians held "India" we do not know. When the Greeks invaded the country two hundred years later, Indian princes ruled the country.

3. The Greek Invasion under Alexander (327-325 B.C.)

A. Sources of Information—The names are recorded of about *twenty* Greek writers who are known to have composed histories of Alexander's campaign. Some of them actually accompanied Alexander while others were his contemporaries.

But all their works, without exception, have perished. However, we possess five different accounts of Alexander and his later exploits, by later authors to whom the original records were accessible. Of these the two most important are Arrian and Curtius. Arrian, who was born about 90 A. D., wrote in Greek an account of Alexander's Asiatic campaign, called the "Anabasis of Alexander," and also a book on India which was founded on the work of Megasthenes and intended to supplement the account of Ktesias. Arrian is our most trustworthy authority. Curtius, whose date is somewhat doubtful, wrote a work on the exploits of Alexander which has, with some probability, been assigned to the reign of Claudius (41-54 A. D.). This historical biography has been more praised for its literary merits than for its accuracy. "This period is unique in the history of Ancient India in so far as it is the only one of which detailed accounts have come down to us." (Rapson, p. 89).

B. Political Condition of North India—North-western India was parcelled into a multitude of states owing no allegiance to any paramount power and continually at war with each other. Ambhi, King of Taxila, was engaged in a war with both Porus, the powerful neighbour to the east, and the small hill-kingdom of Abhisara to the north. East of the Sutlej lay the kingdom of Magadha under the Nandas while the lower course of the Indus was occupied by a multitude of independent tribes, the chief of which were the Mallavas.

C. Alexander's Aims—After the defeat of the Persian monarch Darius III at the decisive battle of Gaugamela in 331 B. C. the Persian dominions together with India came nominally under the sway of the conqueror. The military campaigns that followed had as their ostensible object, the vindication of the right of conquest, the consolidation of the empire thus won, and especially the recovery of the lost Indian satrapy.

D. The Course of the Invasion—The route by which he approached India, passed through the Persian Province of Aria or Herat in North-west Afghanistan; Seistan in Persia boarding on South-west Afghanistan; and then into the country of the

Parapanisadie or Kabul valley; the province of Eastern Afghanistan adjoining the present N.-W. Frontier. Once master of Afghanistan, Alexander founded the city of Alexandria, near the Hindu Kush, which city he used as his base of operations. Thence he made a series of campaigns with the object of subduing the Persian provinces which led to the north—Bactryia (Balkh) and Sogdiana (Bokhara). In 327 B. C. he began to make preparations for the invasion of India. It may be reckoned from this time to the actual date of Alexander's departure from India at the close of 325 B. C. the total duration of his Indian campaign (i. e., the conquest of the Kabul valley, the N.-W. Frontier Province, the Punjab and Sindh) was about 2 years and 3 months. (Map No. 1 in Joppen's Atlas of Indian History).

E. Alexander in India—In November 327 B. C, he set out to conquer India. Sending the main body of his army through the usual route over the Khaibar Pass, he proceeded northwards in midwinter and conquered the warlike tribes of *Chitral* and the adjacent river valleys, and thereby safeguarded his communications. After this he rejoined the main body of his troops and crossed the Indus near *Attock* early in 326 B. C., and marched at the head of more than 80,000 men besides camp followers to *Taxila*, the largest town in North-West India. (Oxford History, p. 61). Ambhi, king of Taxila, readily submitted to him. From this city, Alexander sent a summons to the neighbouring king, Porus (Paurava the Senior) who returned a defiant answer to the summons, and prepared to oppose the invaders at the Hydaspes (Jhelum) with all his forces. The battle of the *Hydaspes* in which the Macedonians finally prevailed, is the most celebrated in the history of Alexander's Indian Campaign. (Plan, Smith, p. 66 and description, p. 69). "The superior discipline of the Macedonian troops and the generalship of Alexander gave the invaders a victory after a very hard-contested battle. Alexander combined policy with generosity, and conciliated Porus by restoring to him all his possessions, and thereby gained his lasting friendship and loyalty." (Rangaswamy). After founding two cities near the site of his victory (Rapson, p. 94), he crossed the Chenab (Acesines)

and marched into the territory of the second Porus, who, however, fled before him. Alexander followed him over the Ravi (Hydraotes) but soon turned from the pursuit to capture *Sangala*, the capital of the warlike Cathaeans. Within a few marches lay the great empire on the Gangetic plain, of whose wealth and splendour he had heard a great deal, and which he longed to conquer. But when he came to the Beas (Hyphasis) and attempted to cross it, his troops refused to proceed further. Alexander was thus forced to retrace his steps homewards, and marched back to the Jhelum. He collected a flotilla at the cities he had founded, commanded by his admiral, Nearchus, and was escorted by divisions of the army marching on both flanks. Nearchus thus performed for Alexander a somewhat similar task to that which, nearly two centuries before, had been undertaken by Skylax at the command of Darius. *Alexander in Sindh*—He conquered on the way the powerful allied tribes living on the Indus, including the Malavas and Kshudrakas, and nearly lost his life in a heroic attack on the capital of the former--Multan. One of the cities he founded along the river is Patala (Haidarabad) at the head of the Indus delta. The whole of Sindh was then formed into a separate province. After exploring the mouth of the Indus, he divided his army, and sending one body through the Bolan Pass and Northern Baluchistan, he himself marched back at the head of another division through the waterless region of the Mekran (Gedrosia) or Southern Baluchistan. The remaining forces were sent by sea under Nearchus, with orders to meet the main body at the head of the Persian Gulf.

F. The System of Government in Indian Provinces-Before leaving India in the autumn of 325 B. C. he had made provision for the future control of his new dominions by the appointment of satraps to govern the different provinces. In so doing he was merely perpetuating the system which had become firmly rooted in Northern India as the result of two centuries of Persian rule. The satraps whom he selected as governors in the former provinces of the Persian empire were Greek or Persian; while, in the case of the newly added territories, he seems, where possible, to have chosen the native prince as satrap. Thus

Ambhi was made the satrap of the land between the Indus and the Jhelum, and Porus between the Jhelum and the Ravi, thus adding some territories of his neighbours to the latter, who was a ruler of exceptional ability. "Alexander, in fact, carried into practice the traditional Indian policy recommended by Manu (VII 202), and followed, wherever it has been possible and expedient, by conquering powers in India generally, both ancient and modern, that a kingdom which had submitted should be placed in the charge of some member of its ancient royal family. Thus, in all periods of history, local governments in India have gone on almost unchanged in spite of conquest after conquest. It was always regarded as a legitimate object of the ambition of every king to aim at a position of a *chakravartin* or supreme monarch. (Read Rapson, pp. 96-97).

G. Influence of Alexander's Invasion on India—"The general tendency of European scholars has been to exaggerate the hellenising effects of Alexander's invasion and the Indo-Greek rule in the North-Western Frontier." (Smith). From a military point of view, Alexander's campaign was an unqualified success from the beginning to the end. His military achievements had been a triumph of organisation, strategy and tactics. Nor had he been foiled in the object of his expedition. His conquests were substantial: he not only reclaimed the Persian satrapies of Ghandara and "India," but he also annexed the whole of the Northern India as far as the Bias. But when we consider his campaign from the point of view of its results and enquire how far it affected India, the conclusion is forced upon us that his campaign was "little more than a military expedition, the main object of which was to gratify a conqueror's ambition by the assertion of his suzerainty." (Rapson, p. 97). That it was his intention to maintain his suzerainty is shown by his administrative arrangements in the conquered provinces, through the appointment of Indian satraps. But this suzerainty was only effective so long as it could be enforced. In June 323 B. C., a little more than a year after his return from India, he died at Babylon, and with his death the Macedonian rule in India collapsed, and as the result of an organised general rising, the invaders had to leave

India altogether. His successor, Seleukos Nikator, endeavoured in vain to re-conquer the lost possessions in about 305 B. C. Hence Alexander's invasion left no traces whatever in the literature or the institutions of India, nor did it bring about any change in the methods of government or in the life of the people. Ancient Indian polity was by far too strong to be swept away by a mere conqueror. If Alexander had lived, his well-conceived plans might possibly have resulted in the Hellenisation of at least the basin of the Indus, and the course of Indian history might possibly have been changed. Yet Alexander was no mere invader, and important, though indirect, results followed his military raid. His expedition resulted in a vast increase of the European knowledge of the East by producing quite a crop of narratives and memoirs relating to India. The commercial relations of India with the west were strengthened and the trade routes of Indo-European intercourse were more frequented. "Some degree of reciprocal influence was also exercised on each other by Greek and Indian art and literature." (Rangaswamy, p. 54). Lastly, India also learnt from the invasion some useful military and political lessons. His campaigns proved for the first time the merits of the European system of arming, drilling, and leading troops. The triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himalayas to the sea had shown the inherent weakness of even the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European discipline and skill. Further, the small states and free tribes of the Punjab and Sind had been weakened by their fights against Alexander, and their overthrow by an ambitious Indian power was thereby rendered easy. The fear of another foreign invasion, and the conviction that it would be impossible to withstand it without union, probably made such states now willing to accept the protection and supremacy of a strong Indian kingdom. Valuable lessons in statecraft, especially regarding the building up and management of great kingdoms, were also doubtless learnt from the empire of Alexander. Thus the ground was prepared for the growth of the First Indian Empire under the Maurya Dynasty. (Rangaswamy, p. 55).

BOOK III

THE BUDDHIST AGE—320 B. C.-320 A. D.

CHAPTER I.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE GANGETIC PLAIN. THE MAURYAN EMPIRE—ITS ESTABLISHMENT.

[Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch. XIV; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. V; Oxford History, Bk. II, Ch. I; Rapson, Ch. VII; Rangaswamy, pp. 65-67].

1. Introduction.

A. A New Epoch—"The retirement of Alexander the Great from the Punjab marks a turning-point in Indian History. It was followed by a memorable event." (Rangaswamy). We find the establishment of the first Hindu empire. "The advent of the Maurya dynasty marks the passage from darkness to light for the historian. Chronology suddenly becomes definite, almost precise; a huge empire springs into existence, unifying the innumerable fragments of distracted India; and the Kings, who may be described with justice as emperors, are men of renown, outstanding prsonalities whose qualities can be discerned, albeit dimly, through the mists of time; gigantic world-wide religious movements are initiated, of which the effects are still felt; and the affairs of secluded Hind are brought into close touch with those of the outer world." (Oxford History, p. 72).

B. Analysis of the Maurya Dynasty—

(*a*) Early Mauryas:
- (1) Chandragupta Maurya–322-298 B. C.
- (2) Bindusara Amitraghata–298-273 B. C.
- (3) Asoka –273-232 B. C.

(*b*) Later Mauryas—5 Kings –232-185 B. C.

2. The Sources of Information.

A. The Writings of Foreigners—As India is brought into closer touch with the outer world, we have elaborate

accounts of India written by foreigners who were in India as envoys at the Mauryan court. *Megasthenes*, the envoy sent by Seleukos to Chandragupta Maurya after 303 B. C., the most important of all, resided for a considerable time at Pataliputra, and employed his leisure in compiling an excellent account of the geography, products, and institutions of India, which continued to be the principal authority on the subject until modern times. Although often misled by erroneous information received from others, Megasthenes is a veracious and trustworthy witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation, and his vivid account of Chandragupta's civil and military administration may be accepted without hesitation as true and accurate. From this account we get a more minute information than about those of any Indian soveriegn until the days of Akbar, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth. (Smith). In the reign of Chandragupta's successor, Bindusara, another Syrian ambassador, named *Daimachus*, sent by Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B. C.), the successor of Seleukos, visited the Court of Pataliputra. His account has been lost. Of a third ambassador, who came to India from the west at some time during this period, we know merely the name—*Dionysius*—and that he was sent from the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt (285-247 B. C.). "It is in every way probable that constant relations were maintained between India and the West during the period of the Maurya Empire." (Rapson).

B. The Indian Literature—Besides the Buddhist Sacred Works and the Puranas, we have an important and reliable source in Chanakya's *Arthasastra*. Chanakya, known also as Kautilya or Vishnugupta, was the great Brahmin Minister of Chandragupta. He wrote an account of the polity of the period, which is a genuine ancient work of the Mauryan age. Its contents, according to Smith, describe the state of things immediately before the establishment of the Maurya Empire. However it deals with the ancient Hindu polity. Another source—*Mudra-Rakshasa*—a political drama, written perhaps in the fifth century A. D., cannot be relied upon for a matter-of-fact historical narrative.

3. The Foundation of the Empire—(321-273 B. C).

A. The Rise of Chandragupta—(1) The first step in his rise is the "National" movement in the Punjab. Within a few years of Alexander's death, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from India, and the satrapies became once more independent. We have no detailed information as to the process by which the north-western region thus passed from under one suzerainty to another. We can only surmise that the victorious career of Chandragupta must have resembled that of Alexander: some states willingly gave him their allegiance, while others yielded after a contest. (2) The second step is the revolution in Magadha. Acting under the guidance of his astute Brahman preceptor, Chanakya, Chandragupta effected a revolution at Pataliputra and exterminated the Nanda family. "It is not clear whether the Magadhan revolution preceded or followed the attack on the Macedonian garrisons. However that may have been, Chandragupta undoubtedly succeeded to the throne of Pataliputra, secured his position against all enemies, and established a gigantic empire by the conquest of Magadha, Anga, Kasi and Kosala. He is the first strictly historical person who can be properly described as emperor of India" (Oxford History, p. 73). (3) The third step is his success in the struggle with Seleukos Nikator. Seleukos Nikator, the Conqueror, to whom fell the Asiatic portion of Alexander's empire, hoped to recover Alexander's Indian Provinces. In 305 B. C. he crossed the Indus to attack the reigning Indian sovereign, Chandragupta Maurya. But he was defeated somewhere in the Punjab, and compelled to retire beyond the frontier. The terms of the peace involved the cession by Seleukos to Chandragupta of the provinces of the Paropanisadai, Aria, and Arachosia, the capitals of which were respectively Kabul, Herat, and Khandahar, and also Gedrosia, the modern Baluchistan. The Indian King gave in exchange a comparatively small equivalent—500 elephants, which Seleukos needed for the wars with his western enemies. A matrimonial alliance was also arranged, which may be interpreted as meaning that a daughter of Seleukos was married to

Chandragupta. "The first Indian emperor, more than two thousand years ago, thus entered into possession of that 'scientific frontier' sighed for in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghul monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." (Smith, E. H. I., p. 119).

B. The Empire and Rule of Chandragupta (321-298 B. C).—His dominions certainly included the country now called Afghanistan, the ancient Ariana, as far as the Hindu Kush range; the Punjab; the terriories now known as the United Province of Agra and Oudh, Bihar, and the peninsula of Kathiawar in the far west. Probably they also comprised Bengal. "It is safe to affirm that Chandragupta, when his reign terminated about 298 B. C., was master of all India north of the Narbada as well as Afghanistan." (Oxford History, p. 74). Regarding the nature of his rule, the Roman historian Justin, who affirms that Chandragupta was the author of India's liberty after Alexander's death, adds the comment that "when he had gained the victory and ascended the throne, he transformed nominal liberty into slavery, in as much as he oppressed with servitude the people whom he had rescued from foreign rule." The Jain tradition says that he abdicated and committed suicide by slow starvation in the approved Jain manner. (Read Oxford History p. 75). Thus in the course of some eighteen years Chandragupta had expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Punjab and Sind, repulsed and humbled Seleukos the Conqueror, and established himself as undisputed supreme lord of at least all Northern India and a large part of Ariana. "These achivements fairly entitle him to rank among the greatest and most successful kings known to history." (Smith, E. H. I., p. 120).

C. Bindusara (298-273 B. C.)—Unfortunately nothing definite is known concerning Bindusara Amitraghata ("Slayer of enemies"), except a trivial anecdote showing that he maintained friendly intercourse with Antiochus Soter whose ambassador, Daimachus, replaced Megasthenes. Another envoy, named Dionysius, sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus, must have been at the court of Bindusara or Asoka. Probably it was Bindusara who

added the Dakhan to the Mauryan empire. A tradition recorded by Taranath represents Bindusara as having conquered the country between the eastern and western seas. Smith says "The tradition may well be founded on fact, because the immense extent of Asoka's empire is known, and he himself made no conquests except that of Kalinga." Although the figure of Bindusara is thus shadowy, and absolutely nothing is known about his acts, he must have been a competent ruler. Otherwise he could not have reigned for a quarter of a century and transmitted to his son Asoka the gigantic empire created by, and inherited from, his father Chandragupta.

CHAPTER II.

THE MAURYAN ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

[Shama Shastri, *Arthasastra*; Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch V; *Oxford History*, Bk. II, Ch. I; Rangaswamy, Ch. VI, Sect. II; Dutt, *Ancient India*, Bk, IV; *Corporate Life in Ancient India* by R. C. Majumdar.]

1. Introduction.

A. Sources of Information—Megasthenes and Kautalya are the chief sources of our information regarding the civilisation in India under Chandragupta. Kautalya's *Arthasastra* is a regular treatise on statecraft, and describes the condition of polity before the Mauryan empire under the Nandas, and does not provide for the imperial polity of the Mauryas. Chandragupta did not introduce any radical changes in the system, although it is reasonable to credit Chandragupta and his prime minister with effecting improvements and increasing the efficiency of the mechanism of the Government.

B. The General Feature of the Administrative System—The glimpses we obtain of the social and political life of Northern India under the early Mauryas show that the people had then reached a high degree of civilisation, and that they

were under the rule of a centralized, absolute monarchy. The Mauryan state was organised elaborately with a full supply of departments and carefully graded officials with well-defined duties. "The accounts leave on my mind the impression that it was much better organized than was the Moghul empire under Akbar." (Oxford History, p. 76). Most of the arrangements adopted by Chandragupta remained in force under his successors—Bindusara and Asoka.

2. The Features of the Mauryan Organisation.

A. The Civil Administration—(*a*) The Central Government—The central or imperial government consisted of the King and the Council. The system was autocratic, i. e., an absolute monarchy. According to Chanakya, the royal will was not controlled by any body. The only customary or moral limitation was the respect shown to the Brahmins and their advice which the king sought. The Council consisted of as many members as the extent of the empire needed. The only real check was a fear of revolution and assassination in the case of Chandragupta, The care taken by Chandragupta and the organisation and control of the army indicate the constant fear of the king. The sovereign himself took an interest in civil administration. The Imperial court excelled the palaces of Susa and Ekbatana in splendour. Gold vessels measuring six feet across, golden palanquin, royal clothes in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold,—all indicate the splendour of the court. The ancient kings had several amusements such as gambling, game, gladiatorial combats, and chariot race. There were courtesan attendants, accomplished courtesans of the dancing-girl class; they held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher. There was much corruption due to which there was the 'Secret Service'—a body of spies to detect any coruption in the government. (Rangaswamy, p. 76). (*b*) The Local Government—Provincial Administration—Taxila, Ujjain, Girinagara (Girnar), Suvarnagiri and Tosali formed provincial capitals where viceroys, often selected from princes of the Royal blood, ruled on behalf of the king. The guardianship of the frontiers was entrusted to a

special body of wardens of the marches. There were commissions for conducting the government of provincial cities. During the reign of Asoka popular assemblies were convoked in provincial capitals once every three or five years, and the royal edicts and charters were read out to the people during their sittings. (2) Municipal Administration—Pataliputra was a great and noble city extending along the northern bank of the Son for about ten miles in length and less than two miles in breadth. Being at the junction of the Son and the Ganges, it occupied a defensible position recommended by the writers of text-books and frequently adopted by the ancient Indian kingdoms. The city was defended by a massive timber palisade, pierced by 64 gates, crowned by 570 towers, and protected externally by a broad and deep moat, filled with the water from the Son. For the administration of his huge imperial capital, Chandragupta provided a commission of thirty members, divided into six Boards or Committees for industrial arts; care of foreigners; registration of births and deaths; retail trade and barter, with supervision of weights and measures, and the due stamping of produce sold; supervision of manufactures and sale of the same duly stamped; and collection of the tithe on the price of goods sold. "The perfection of the arrangements thus indicated is astonishing, even when exhibited in outline. Examination of the departmental details increases our wonder that such an organisation could have been planned and efficiently operated in India in 300 B. C. Akbar had nothing like it, and it may be doubted if any of the ancient Greek cities were better organised." (Oxford History, p. 87). Our detailed information relates only to the municipal administration of Pataliputra, but it is reasonable to infer that Taxila, Ujjain, and the other great cities of the empire were governed on the same principles and by similar methods.

B. The Judicial Administration—(*a*) Crimes—The general honesty of the people and the efficient administration of the criminal law are both attested by Megasthenes, who noted that while he resided in the imperial camp containing 400,000

persons, the daily thefts reported did not exceed eight pounds sterling. (*b*) Criminal Code—Such security of property was attained by the application of a terribly severe code. The author of the Arthasastra gives a horrible list of eighteen kinds of torture. When the prisoner was convicted, the modes of punishment were many, including fines, mutilation and death in various forms. Mutilation could sometimes be compounded for by a fine, according to the caste and rank of the offender. "These recorded instances of severity are sufficient to prove that the code of criminal law, as a whole, must have been characterized by uncompromising sternness and slight regard for human life." (Smith).

C. The Financial Administration — (*a*) Sources of Revenue—The land revenue or State share of the produce, which always has been the main stay of Indian finance, may be regarded as rent rather than as taxation on the assumption that the ultimate property in land is vested in the State. The normal share of the produce admitted to be claimable by the government was one-fourth, but Akbar took one-third. Other sources of revenue were water-rates, benevolences, sale of honours, taxes on sales, and excise. (Smith, E. H. I., pp. 141-143). (*b*) Settlement—The authorities do not explain the nature of the "settlements" made in Mauryan times, and we do not know whether the assessment was varied yearly or fixed for longer periods. (Oxford History, p. 91).

D. The Military Organisation— (*a*) Strength—All Indian armies had been regarded from time immemorial as normally comprising the four arms, cavalry, infantry, elephants and chariots. The army was maintained at enormous numerical strength. The huge force of Mahapadma Nanda was greatly augmented by Chandragupta who raised the numbers of the infantry to 600,000 and also had 30,000 horse, and 9,000 elephants, besides chariots, all permanently enrolled in a regularly paid establishment. Megasthenes expressly states that the soldiers were paid and equipped by the state. (*b*) Organisation—Megasthenes informs us that the vast army was controlled and

administered by a War Office, a commission of thirty members, divided into six Boards—Admiralty, Transport, Commissariat, and Army Service; Infantry; Cavalry; War-Chariots; and Elephants. "No similar organisation is recorded elsewhere, and the credit of devising such efficient machinery must be divided between Chandragupta and his exceptionally able minister." (Oxford History, p. 82). According to the Arthasastra an Indian army was organised in squads of ten men, companies of a hundred, and battalions of a thousand each. Chandragupta probably followed the same practice. According to Chanakya, an ambulance service was provided in the rear during an action consisting of surgeons supplied with instruments, medicines, and dressings, and of women with prepared food and beverages. (Book x, Chap. 3). (For the equipment of the army, see Oxford History, pp. 83-84). The army thus organised by Chandragupta was extremely formidable, and enabled him to "overrun and subdue all India" as Plutarch says.

E. The Economic Organisation—(*a*) Agriculture—Irrigation, which is essential in most parts of India for the security of the crops and consequently of the revenue, received close attention, and was under the supervision of departmental officers. A system of canals with sluices was maintained, and water-rates of varying amounts were levied as they are now. (*b*) Roads—The main roads were kept in order by the proper department, and pillars marking the distances, equivalent to our mile-stones were set up. A great highway, now represented by Lord Dalhousie's Grand Trunk Road, connected Taxila and the north-western frontier with Pataliputra. The Arthasastra mentions the construction of roads as one of the duties of a king. Rules were laid down concerning the correct width of each class of road. (*c*) Traffic in Liquor-(Read *Arthasastra*, Ch. XXV)—The drinking of, and traffic in, liquor were recognised officially and encouraged as a source of revenue. The whole business was under the control of a Superintendent, who was responsible for the necessary police and licensing arrangements, as well as the collection of the government dues.

3. The Criticism of the Mauryan Polity.

A. **Its Merits**—Many readers probably will be surprised to learn of the existence at such an early date of a government so thoroughly organised, which anticipated in many respects the institutions of modern times. The foregoing review of the civil and military system of government during the reign of Chandragupta, proves clearly that Northern India in the time of Alexander the Great had attained a high degree of civilization, which must have been the product of evolution continued through many centuries.

B. **Its Evils**—"The dark spots on the picture are the appalling wickedness of the statecrft taught in the *Arthasastra* and the hateful espionage which tainted the whole administration and was inspired by the wicked statecraft of the books." *(Oxford History*, p. 92). The spirit of the *Dharma-sastras* is far more humane than that of Chanakya's ruthless treatise. The work of Chanakya is avowedly founded upon many earlier treatises no longer extant, all of which seem to have advocated the same principles. Though the moral basis of the administrative system leaves much to be desired, we have to recognise that the system was found efficient for the times and elicits our admiration even in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III.

THE MAURYAN EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT—ASOKA

[Rhys. Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch, XV; Vincent Smith, (1) *Asoka;* (2) *Early History of India*, Ch. IV and V; (3) *Oxford History*, Ch. II; Rangaswamy, pp. 68,75].

1. The Sources of Information.

A. Literary Sources—The Greeks do not mention Asoka, and the Brahmin records completely ignore him until the time when, ten or twelve centuries afterwards, all danger of his influence had passed away. They then go so far as to include his name among others in a list of kings. However, the Asokan legend has reached us in two main streams—the Ceylonese and the North Indian. (*E. H. I.*, p. 171). Besides numerous passages scattered through other books, we have four connected narratives dealing with Asoka—the Asoka Avadana in Buddhist Sanskrit, preserved in Nepal; the Dipavamsa, in Pali, preserved in Burma; Buddaghosa's account in his commentary on the Vinaya; and the Mahavamsa, in Pali, preserved in Ceylon (Read "*Buddhist India*, pp. 276-8). On the value of the legend, opinion is divided. Vincent Smith believes that legends preserved in Northern India, the seat of Asoka's imperial power, are more likely to transmit genuine tradition than those of the South, while Rhys Davids attaches more value to the southern stream of legend. Again, Smith has a tendency to minimise the importance of the literary sources and exaggerate the value of inscriptions. (*E. H. I.*, p. 171). Rhys Davids and others look upon the legends with greater sympathy and attach greater value to them than to epigraphic sources. (*Buddhist India*, pp. 274-276).

B. Epigraphic Sources—The edicts of Asoka can be classified into three divisions—Rock Edicts, Cave Edicts, and Pillar Edicts, and according to their purpose to three classes—Commemorative (two), Dedicatory (three), and Ethical (twenty-nine). They are again divided into eight groups in chronological order (*Oxford History*, pp. 103-4). The inscriptions or edicts have been

found generally by the side of ancient highways, and at places as remote from each other as the Nepalese Tarai, the Yuzufzai country on the north-west frontier, Girnar in Kathiawar, Siddhapura in Mysore, and Jaugada in the Ganjam District. (See the map in *Oxford History* p. 105). "As they are addressed to his subjects, it is evident that the empire of Asoka included the provinces where they have been found. Further, the fact that all of them are written practically in the same language—a dialect of Prakrit that was spoken in Magadha—shows that at the time it was understood throughout Inda, and that a knowledge of reading and writing was more or less general in the empire." (Rangaswamy, p. 60). On the question of the value of these inscriptions, Rhys David says—"The inscriptions are scanty. The text of all of them together would barely occupy a score of these pages. They give only a limited view of the set of circumstances they deal with . . . . . . And they are enigmatic." (p. 275). And Rangaswamy agrees with him when he says "what we are able to learn comes up to very little when we consider how great a ruler Asoka was, and how long he reigned." Rapson agrees with Vincent Smith in attaching greater value to these inscriptions. "He (Asoka) has suffered both from the enthusiasm of friends and from the misrepresentation of foes . . . . Fortunately, there exists a source of information which is beyond dispute—inscriptions cut into hard rocks or pillars of stone by command of the king himself, and, in many instances, recording his own words."

2. The First Period of His Reign (269-256 B. C.)

A. **His Early Life**—The tradition states that Asoka's mother was the daughter of a Brahmin living in Champa. This may well be so. We hear nothing of his youth or early training. The Ceylon books all say that at the time of his father's death, he was holding the position of Viceroy at Ujjain, and that he had there married a local lady residing at Vedisa, afterwards the site of the celebrated building now known as the Sanchi Tope. Before that he was the Viceroy at Taxila. Thus he had a sufficient training in administration as *Yuvaraja* or

Crown Prince, and due to his ability he was chosen by his father as his successor in preference to his elder brother, Sushima.

B. His Accession—Smith assigns 273 B. C. as the date of his accession and 269 B. C. as the date of his coronation. The four years between his accession and coronation indicate that his accession was contested, probably between himself and his elder brother, then the Viceroy at Taxila. The details of the struggle for succession differ in the different stories, and there is a passing expression in one of the Edicts of brothers of the King being still alive well on in his reign.

C. His work during the First Period—Of this first period of his reign nothing is recorded either in inscriptions or chronicles. He might have occupied himself with the work of organising the empire. In 261, the ninth year, a war broke out between Magadha and Kalinga, perhaps the then most powerful kingdom in India still independent of the Mauryan empire. In a short campaign the kingdom of Kalinga was conquered and added on to the empire—the last addition to the Mauryan empire. In the thirteenth Edict, published by him five years afterwards, he states that it was the remorse and pity aroused in his mind by the horrors of the conquest that resulted in his conversion. (*Buddhist India*, p. 282). His conversion forms a turning point in his reign and marks the beginning of the more important period of his reign (250-233).

3. Asoka as a Buddhist.

A. His Conversion and Life—His conversion took place in 261 B. C. after the Kalinga war. It is disputed whether his conversion was due to self consciousness or instigation. Upagupta, a Buddhist preceptor, is believed to have converted him. The evils caused by the war being pointed out to him, he was filled with remorse. (Read *Asoka*, pp. 16-17). In the ninth year of his reign, 261 B. C., Asoka joined the Buddhist order as a lay brother; in the eleventh, 259 B. C., he became a member of the order, and in the thirteenth, 257 B. C., he completely adopted Buddhist ideals.

B. Asoka as a Propagandist—Ever since his conversion he made it the business of his life to employ his unlimited autocratic power over a vast empire, in the teaching, propagation, and enforcement of the ethical system, which he called the Law of Piety or Duty (Dhamma or Dharma). He made Buddhism the state-religion. Under the guidance of his preceptor, Upagupta, he made a solemn pilgrimage to the most sacred spots in the Buddhist Holy Land. He convoked the Third Buddhist Council at Pataliputra, which was specially directed against the sin of schism. Asoka distinctly adopted the position of ruler of both church and state during the last twenty-five years of his life. He was monk and monarch. Therefore, all the officers of state, whom. in modern phraseology, we may call Lieutant–Governors, Commissioners, and District Magistrates, were commanded to make use of opportunities during their periodical tours for convoking assemblies of the lieges, and instructing them in the whole duty of man. A special agency of *censors* was also organised for the purpose of enforcing the regulations concerning the sanctity of animal life and the observances of filial piety. Smith observes that similar action is reported to have been taken by Emperor Harsha, by Kumarapala, king of Gujarat in 1159, and by a Hindu Rajah of Kashmir in 1876. He organized a Royal Almoner's Department for supervising the distribution of the charitable grants made by the sovereign and members of the royal family. Special attention was devoted to the needs of travellers: provision was made for wayfarers in the shape of trees, wells, rest-houses and pillars marking distances along the roads. Asoka's sympathy with his suffering fellow-creatures, human and animal, made him plant, import and supply medicinal herbs and drugs, and establish hospitals both for man and for animals. (Read E. H. I. p. 183). He promulgated his Law of Piety by publication of edicts. (Read Buddhist India, pp. 294-7). Not being satisfied with the action of official propaganda carried on by various agencies within the empire and protected states, he sent out royal missionaries to border-states and tribes: to the independent Kingdoms of Southern India; the Cholas and the Pandyas; to Ceylon (*Buddhist India*, p. 302); and to the

Hellenistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus. (For the results of his work, see Rhys Davids, pp. 298-306). The missionary organization of Asoka thus embraced three continents, Asia, Africa and Europe.

4. Asoka as an Administrator.

A His Empire—(*a*) Extent—The extent of his empire is determined by the position of his edicts in different parts. The farthest west of the Asokan inscription is situated 40 miles to the N. E. of Peshawar, and two other inscriptions are found almost on the shores of the Bay of Bengal. Some again belong to the region of the Himalayas and the Nepalese frontier, whilst the most southerly ones were found only recently in the Mysore state. May we conclude from the existence of these remains that Asoka's empire extended over all the countries marked off by them? Did his empire include Afghanistan, part of Kashmir, Nepal and the whole of India down to the southern extremity where it touched the Dravidian Kingdoms? According to some authorities—Smith, Rapson, Rangaswamy—the inference is mainly in the affirmative; while according to some others like Fleet, the inference is hardly justifiable. The zeal of the missionaries despatched by the Buddhist emperor is known to have outrun the boundaries of his empire, these may have engraved the said inscriptions on rocks situated in places outside the empire. "The records of Asoka in Mysore," says Fleet (J. R. A. S. July 1914), "do not mark local sovereignty. The most southern inscriptions which do that are those found in Kathiawar on the west and at Dhauli in the east, and indications thus given limit Asoka's empire in India itself to the territory north of the Narbada and the Mahanadi with just the exception of the Kalinga province. The Narbada and the Mahanadi were always a great dividing line of sovereignty prior to the Moghal period."
(*b*) The Provinces—The royal will was communicated to the lieges through the agency of a bureaucracy, at the head of which stood the Viceroys, generally sons or other near relatives of the sovereign. There were four viceroyalties with their seats at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali, and Suvarnagiri. (*Asoka*, Ch. II, p. 73).

The home provinces were probably administered by local governors acting under the direct orders of the emperor. The other officers were *Rajjukas* or Commissioners and *Pradesikas* or District officers, *Mahamatra* or Magistrates. (See *Asoka,* pp. 74-76).

B. His Administrative System—(Asoka, Ch. II)—He kept up the administrative system of his grandfather, with few substantial changes. He adopted the provincial divisions of Chandragupta, adding one or two provinces to them—the Kalinga Kingdom or Eastern Province and probably also a southern province. By the system of royal circuits or tours, he seems to have tried to make himself personally acquainted with his people. (*Asoka,* p. 76). A special agency of Censors was organised to enforce the Dharma. (*Asoka,* p. 75). His financial and military systems were closely modelled on those of Chandragupta. In the matter of judicial administration it may be noted that Asoka the Humane mitigated the sanguinary code of Chandragupta. "So far as the evidence goes, it indicates that Asoka maintained in substance the stern penal legislation and summary procedure of his illustrious grandfather, who had governed by despotism the empire won by bloodshed." (*Asoka* p. 85).

C. Criticism—The Edicts of Dhauli and Jaugada, addressed to the governors and magistrstes of the conquered province of Kalinga, display the sovereign's earnest desire for merciful and considerate administration. Great care was paid to the moral and material prosperity of the subjects. "Asoka deserves credit for inculcating on his officers principles which, if followed, must have resulted in improved administration of justice, and measures which in some degree mitigated the ferocity of established practice." *(Smith).* However, the practice of the censorial system must have led to much tyranny and espionage. Moreover, the administration was highly centralised—too personal, too paternal; hence the empire collapsed as soon as the strong hand of Asoka disappeared.

5. Asoka as a Builder.

A. Arts—The reign of Asoka presents in perfection all the conditions favourable to the development of notable

schools of arts and literature. The definite history of Indian art still begins with Asoka. The general use of stone in northern India for building, sculpture and decoration, certainly dates from the reign of Asoka, who was influenced by Persian and Greek examples (*Oxford History*, p. 111). Stupas, monasteries, Topes and Pillars—all show that Asoka was a great builder. In Asoka's age the material of architecture is generally either brick or stone, imitating wooden prototypes. This change is probably in the main to be attributed to Asoka. Sculpture was the handmaid of architecture, and all notable buildings were freely and richly adorned with decorative patterns, an infinite variety of bas-reliefs, and numerous statues of men and animals.

B. Foreign Influences—"The imposing fabric of the Achaemenian empire of Persia evidently impressed the Indian mind, and several circumstances indicate a Persian influence on Indian civilisation." The winged lions, and several other details of architectural decoration, are expressions of Assyrian influence. The acanthus leaves, astragalus and bead moulding and honeysuckle decoration of some of Asoka's capitals are probably to be explained as borrowed from Greek, or Hellenistic originals. (*Asoka*, pp. 110-111).

6. Estimate of Asoka's Greatness.

A. His Character—Asoka was a hard-working King, as unwearied in business as Philip II of Spain, ready to receive reports at any hour and any place, and yet dissatisfied with the outcome of his industry. His ideal of duty was high, "work I must," he observed, "for the public benefit;" and work he did. (*E. H. I.*, pp. 190-191). The edicts reveal Asoka as a man who sought to combine the piety of the monk with the wisdom of the King, and to make India the kingdom of righteousness as he conceived it, a theocracy without a God, in which the government should act the part of Providence, and guide the people in the right way. Reverence, compassion, truthfulness, and sympathy were the virtues which he inculcated; irreverence, cruelty, falsehood, and intolerance were the vices

which he condemned. "The preacher was no mere sermon-writer. He was a man of affairs, versed in the arts of peace and war, the capable ruler of an immense empire, a great man, and a great king" (Smith).

B. **His Rule**—Asoka "surely remains one of the most striking and interesting personalities in the history of the world." "That he was wanting in the most efficient sort of practical statesmanship seems to have been chiefly due to the glamour of his high position, of a majesty that was, indeed, so very splendid that it was great enough to blind the eyes of most. The culture of a Marcus Aurelius or an Akbar might have saved him from this. But even as it was, it is, among European rulers, with Marcus Aurelius for some things, with Cromwell for others, that he deserves to be compared." (*Buddhist India*, pp. 306-307). Few Indian Kings have had such an exalted sense of duty as Asoka had. Such work would be ample proof of greatness in any King in any age. It is all the more marvellous that such praise should have been deserved by one who lived more than twenty-one centuries ago. The great emperor was thus the most memorable figure in the history of India before the time of Akbar.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DECLINE OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

[Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. VII, pp. 194 and 195, and Ch. VIII; *Oxford History*, pp. 116-119; Rapson, *Ancient India*, Ch. VIII; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch. XVI; Rangaswamy, Ch. VII. Sec. 1.]

1. The Causes of the Decline of the Empire.

A. Introduction—The great Maurya Empire broke up soon after the death of Asoka. The genius and ability of Asoka had alone kept it from the disruption that naturally threatened his dominions. The literary sources for the period chiefly consist in the traditions recorded in the *Puranas*, especially the Vayu and Vishnu Puranas, and in some of the Jain and Buddhist works, especially "Asokavadana." These sources are only partly in agreement with one another, and contain only the names of kings and the length of their reigns, and not much about their doings. The cave inscriptions in the Nagarjuni Hills in the Gaya District of Bengal allude to Asoka's son. (Rapson, p. 110). The fall of this empire, unlike many empires of Indian history, was brought about solely by *internal* causes.

B. Intrinsic Weakness of the Empire—(1) The empire was *heterogeneous* in character, consisting of dominions loosely knit and forming divers units. From this standpoint the chances of its continuance were analogous to the empires of Alexander and Charlemagne. (2) Geographically, the uncentral position of the *capital*, Pataliputra, explains the fall of the empire as in the case of the later Muhammadan empires in India with Delhi or Agra as capitals or the later Roman Empire with its capital at Byzantium. (3) "The excessive centralisation of power at the hands of the king at Pataliputra, which had been introduced by Chandragupta and Asoka, was another cause, as such authority was certain of misuse when weak or incapable rulers succeeded to the throne." (Rangaswamy). The same causes also explain the fall of all other empires in Indian history.

C. Weakness of the Later Mauryas (232—185)— As in the case of the later Pathan and the later Mughal emperors,

the later Maurya emperors were also weak or incapable rulers, under whom diverse forces tended to the dissolution of the empire. "It is a misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never ensure a worthy successor." The immediate successor of Asoka was his son Dasaratha, during whose reign the break-up of Maurya Empire began, and who dedicated Nagarjuni caves to the sect of the Jain ascetics called Ajivikas, a fact which indicates that he continued the patronage which Asoka had bestowed on them. According to the Vāyu Purana, his successors were Sargata Maurya and Salisuka Maurya or Indrapalita who was defeated by Kharavela of Orissa. The last or the fifth after Asoka was Brihadratha Maurya, slain in 185 B. C. by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra Sunga, who thus finally destroyed the Maurya Empire or dynasty. Descendants of the great Asoka continued as unrecorded local subordinate Rajas in Magadha for many centuries. The descendants of Asoka probably retained possession of only Magadha and the neighbouring home provinces.

D. Opposition between Diverse Religions—"The fall of the Maurya authority probably was due in large measure to a reaction promoted by the Brahmans, whose privileged position must have been seriously affected by the extreme favour which Asoka showed to the Buddhist monks." (Smith). The prohibition of bloody sacrifices and the irritating proceedings of the Censors must have produced much unrecorded discontent, and we may fairly assume that when the strong hand of the old emperor dropped the sceptre, Brahman influence reasserted itself and produced a revolt against the tyranny of Asoka's system. (*E. H. I.*, p. 194).

E. Revolt and Independence of Provinces—All the outlying provinces of the empire profited by the weakness of the later Maurya administration to establish their independence. The North-Western region of India ceased to belong to the Maurya empire. The numerous petty states held together for a time by the Maurya Imperial power reasserted their autonomy, and out of these arose two kingdoms—Bactria and Parthia. In the east,

in or about 213 King Kharavela asserted the independence of the Jain kingdom of Kalinga. The decline of the Maurya empire was marked also by the rapid growth of the Andra kingdom in Southern India, between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers.

2. The Lessons of the Maurya Empire.

A. Continuity of Policy—It is interesting in reviewing the past history of India to trace a remarkable continuity of policy on the part of the rulers of whatever nationality who have succeeded in welding together this great congeries of widely differing races and tongues. The main principles of government have remained unchanged throughout the ages. Such as they were under the Maurya empire, so they were inherited by the Muhammadan rulers and by their successors the British. These principles are based on the recognition of a social system which depends ultimately on a self-organised village community. *Local government thus forms the very basis of all political systems in India.* The grouping of village communities into States, and the grouping of States into Empires has left the social system unchanged. All governments have been obliged to recognize an infinite variety among the governed of social customs and of religious beliefs, too firmly grounded to admit of interference .... the tolerant policy of Asoka was that of the most capable and far seeing of the Muhammadan rulers such as Akbar, and it has always been that of the British government, which, like Asoka, has only interfered with religion when it has entailed practices which conflict with the ordinary principles of humanity. (Rapson, p. 111).

B. The Need of a strong Imperial Power—"Another lesson which is enforced by the history of the Maurya empire is that the maintenance of peace, and of those conditions which are essential to progress, depends in India on the *existence of a strong imperial power*. On the downfall of the Maurya empire, as on the downfall of the Mughal empire nearly two thousand years later, the individual States which had been peacefully united under the imperial sway regained their independence, and the struggle between them for existence or for supremacy began anew." (Rapson, p. 113)

3. Magadha after the Mauryas (185 B. C.-225 A. D.).

A. The Sunga Dynasty (185-73 B. C.)—The tendency of the Magadha empire to fall was arrested for a time by one of the famous kings of India, Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty in 185 B. C. and reigned for about 35 years. (See section 4 below). He was followed by his son, Agnimitra, who had governed the southern provinces during his father's life-time. He reigned but a few years, and was succeeded by Vasujyeshta or Sujyeshta, probably a brother, who was followed seven years later by Vasumitra, presumably a son of Agnimitra. He was followed by four kings, whose reigns are said to have been abnormally short, amounting to only seventeen years—a period of confusion and palace revolutions. The eighth and ninth kings were Sumitra, another son of Agnimitra, and Bhagavata respectively. The tenth king Devabhuti or Devabhumi was a man of licentious habits, and lost his life while engaged in a discreditable intrigue which ended this dynasty after 112 years and brought in the Kanva dynasty. Regarding the extent of the Magadha Kingdom under the Sungas, Rapson says (p. 115)—"The available evidence tends to show that Magadha under the Sungas still possessed an empire, but one greatly reduced in size since the time of Asoka."

B. The Kanva or Kanvayana Dynasty (73-28 B. C.)—The Founder of the dynasty was Vasudeva, the Brahmin minister of Devabhuti, who had controlled the State even during the life-time of his nominal master and who putting him to death, seized the throne in 73. Vasudeva was succeeded by three of his descendants, who reigned only for a period of thirty-five years—a fact which indicates, as in the case of the Sungas, that the times were disturbed, and that succession to the throne was often effected by violent means. Nothing whatever is known about the reigns of any of the Kanva kings. The last of them was slain about 28 or 27 B. C. by a king of the Andhra or Satavahana dynasty, which at that time possessed wide dominions stretching across the table-land of the Dakhan from sea to sea, and they reigned over Magadha till 225 A. D.

C. The Andhra Dynasty—See Book V, Ch. III.

4. The Reign of Pushyamitra (185-149 B. C.).

A. **Sources of Information**—There are quite a number of works dealing with him and his works. The Puranas are the common source for the dynasties. The Puranic account is confirmed by Bana's *Harshacharita* of the seventh century A. D., who evidently had access to documents now lost. The story of Pushyamitra is partly told in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra*, composed probably in the fifth century A. D. The great Sanskrit grammarian, *Patanjali*, was a contemporary of Pushyamitra. The Sanskrit astronomical work, the *Gargi Samhita*, is another source. The invasion of the Greek king, Menander, is told in "*The Questions of Milinda*," one of the most notable books in the Buddhist literature. The Greek Strabo and the author of the *Periplus* allude to the invasion of Menander and Greek rule in the north. Taranath, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, also speaks of Pushyamitra. Coins of Menander are common in India, both in the Punjab and farther east and south. Two inscriptions of the Sunga period have also been found, which record the performance of *asvameda* and *vajapeya* sacrifices.

B. **Accession**—Pushyamitra was the commander-in-chief of the last Maurya Emperor. About 185 B. C. by a court intrigue of which he was the leader, the last Maurya Emperor was put to death. Even before this tragedy, the dangers of the State induced the Council to supersede the old king by electing Pushyamitra in his place. (Havell, p. 119). Smith, however, is not reconciled to the view that India possessed an *elective* monarchy and democratic institutions: he looks upon Pushyamitra as an "usurper."

C. **Political Events of His Reign**—The most important event was the invasion of Menander (155–53 B. C.). He was a relation of the Bactrian monarch, and the king of Kabul and the Punjab. He formed the design of emulating the exploits of Alexander and advanced with a formidable force into the interior of India. He annexed the Indus delta, Kathiawar, and some other territories on the west coast, occupied Mathura on the Jumna; beseiged Madhyamika (now Nagari near Chittor) in

Rajputana, invested Saketam in Southern Oudh, and threatened Pataliputra, the capital. Though the invasion was repelled after a severe struggle, he may have retained his conquests in Western India for a few years longer, as is suggested by the observation of the author of the Periplus who noticed, probably towards the close of the first century A. D., that Greek coins of Apollodotus and Menander were still current at the port of Barygaza (Broach, Bharoch). (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 213). Importance—"Thus ended the second and last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land . . . From the repulse of Menander in or about 153 B. C. until the bombardment of Calicut by Vasco-da-Gama in A. D. 1502 India enjoyed immunity from attack under European leadership." (Smith, p. 199). Pushyamitra's son, the Crown Prince, Agnimitra, who was administering the southern provinces extending to the Narmada river, as Viceroy, with Vidisa (Bhilsa) in Sindhia's territory as capital, had a successful war with the Raja of Vidarba (Berar) which resulted in the complete defeat of the Raja, who was obliged to cede half of his dominions to a rival cousin, the river Varada (Warda) being constituted the boundary between the two principalities.

D. Revival of Brahmanism—As a paramount sovereign, Pushyamitra celebrated the horse-sacrifice. (Read Smith, *E. H. I.*, pp. 200-202). "The memorable horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra marked an early stage in the Brahmanical reaction, which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudragupta and his successors." According to the Buddhist authors he indulged in a savage persecution of Buddhism, burning monasteries and slaying monks from Magadha to Jalandhar in the Punjab. "It would be rash to reject this tale as wholly baseless, although it may be exaggerated." (Smith). But Rhys Davids denies the reality of religious persecution of Buddhism in India. (Read Smith, pp. 203-3). Havell observes (p. 121) that the opposition was not exactly against the religion, but against "Sanghas." Buddhism, according to him, is never extinct in the land of its birth; only Sanghas became extinct.

E. His Empire—Probably all the central or home provinces were under Pushyamitra, which extended as far as the

Narmada river, and may be assumed to have embraced the territories in the Gangetic basin, corresponding with the modern Bihar, Tirhut, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. "It is unlikely that either the later Mauryas or the Sungas exercised any jurisdiction in the Punjab." (*E. H, I.*, p. 199).

F. Importance of Pushyamitra's Reign—Under him we find the first stage in the reaction against Buddhism and the revival of Brahmanism, thus anticipating the work of the great Guptas. Pushyamitra is the only noteworthy Indian monarch and is the greatest Indian emperor, during the long interval of five centuries and a half between Asoka the great Maurya, and Chandra Gupta the great Gupta emperor.

CHAPTER V. FOREIGN RULE IN INDIA.

(INDO—GREEK, — PARTHIAN, AND — SCYTHIAN).

[Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. IX; *Oxford History of India*, Bk. II, Ch. 3; Rapson, Ch. IX and X; Rangaswamy, pp. 84-89; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch. XVI]

Introduction.

A. The Nature of the History of the Period—From the death of Asoka Maurya onwards to the time of the Guptas, the history of India is, at present, in a state of utmost confusion and darkness, because of imperfect materials. (Rhys Davids, p. 308). During the whole period there was no really paramount power in India. None of the many smaller kingdoms attained at any time to so much as a quarter of the size of the Maurya Empire. During this period greater interest is attached to the rule of foreigners than the Indians: interest shifts from the Ganges to the Indus.

B. The Sources of Information—The most important *foreign* writers are Justin, a Latin writer who, in the fourth or fifth century A. D., made an abridgment of a history of the Macedonian Empire compiled by Trogus in the reign of Augustus, and the Greek geographer Strabo, who was probably contemporary with Trogus. The chief *Indian* literary source is "The Questions of Milinda," a philosophical dialogue in Pali,

dealing with Menander, a convert to Buddhism. The chief records, however, of the rulers of this period are their *coins*. The history of Greeko-Bactrian period is obtained mostly from coins, which link together the gaps between the notices of the Greek and Latin writers, and for the history of the Indo-Parthian Kings the only source of information is the large number of coins discovered in North-Western India. (Rapson, p. 123).

C. The Factors which helped Foreign Rule—The most important factor which helped the establishment of foreign rule at this time was the weakness of the Magadha Kingdom and the absence of a strong imperial power, which led to the independence of local kingdoms and their rivalry and wars, and the neglect of the North-West frontier which was left exposed to foreign attack. "The regions of the North-Western frontier, when no longer protected by the arms of a strong paramount native power in the interior, offered a tempting field to the ambition of the Hellenistic princes of Bactria and Parthia, as well as to the cupidity of the warlike races on the border, which was freely exploited by a succession of invaders." (Smith). Secondly, the weakness of the Seleucid Empire, as in India, led to local independence which gave birth to two new powers—Bactria and Parthia. The revolt of Bactria was a rebellion of the ordinary oriental type, that is, the strongest man came to power instead of the fittest; while that of Parthia was a national rising led by a chief Arsakes, who founded the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia which lasted for five centuries.

D. Synopsis of Foreign Rule in India.

- I Bactrian—Indo-Bactrian 250 B. C. 175 B. C.
  - (1) Bactria —Eucratides— 25 B. C.
  - (2) India —Demetrius—135 B. C.
- II Parthian–Indo-Parthian 248 B. C. 138 B. C.
  - (1) Afghanistan—Arachosia & Seistan.
  - (2) India—Kingdom of Taxila.
- III Indo-Scythians
  - (1) The Sakas
    - 1. Afghanistan-Seistan (Sakastan).
    - 2. India
      - a) Taxila & Mathura—N. Satraps 100 A. D.
      - b) Sindh & Kathiawar—W. Satraps 390 A. D.
  - (2) The Kushans—50 A. D.—226 A. D.

2. The History of the Indo-Bactrian Kingdom.

A. **Bactria**—The country lies between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus. Under the Achemenian dynasty of Persia, it was regarded as the premier satrapy of the Persian Empire. When Alexander shattered the Persian power, he continued to bestow his royal favour upon the Bactrians, who, in return, gladly assimilated the elements of Hellenic civilisation. It was occupied by civilised men from time immemorial, and contained 1000 cities, the chief one being Balk.

B. **The First Period of its History**—The Period of *Bactrian* Kingdom—Two years after Alexander's death, at the final partition of his Empire, Bactria fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator, and continued to be a valuable part of the Seleucid Empire under Antiochus I Soter (280-261 B. C.) and Antiochus II Theos (261-246 B. C.). During the weak rule of the latter, however, *Diodotus*, the Greek satrap of Bactria, revolted and established an independent Kingdom in about 250 B. C. In 245 Diodotus was succeeded by his son, Diodotus II who entered into an alliance with the Parthian King. He was followed by Euthydemes in 230 B. C. About the year 209 B. C., Antiochus III the Great, the Seluecid Emperor, made an attempt to reduce both Parthia and Bactria to submission. But the expedition only ended in the acknowledgment of their independence. So far as Bactria was concerned, Antiochus, menaced by the growing power of Rome in the west and Parthia in the east, could ill afford to destroy the barrier of both Syria and Hellenic civilization against the constant threat of Scythian Barbarians from beyond the Oxus.

C. **The Second Period of Its History**—The period of *Indo-Bactrian* Kingdom—Demetrius, the fourth King of Bactria, subdued all Ariana or Afghanistan and even considerable territories in the Punjab and western India. Hence he was known as "King of the Indians." But he lost Bactria in about 175 B.C. where a rival, named Eucratides, founded a new line of frontier princes. He conquered also a part of Demetrius' Indian territories. "From this time onwards we may trace the existence of

two lines of Greek princes in India, the one derived from Demetrius, ending *c.* 100 B. C., and the other derived from Eucratides ending *c.* 25 B. C. . . It is doubtful if Demetrius or any other member of the family ruled in any part of Bactria after this date (*c.* 170). It is more probable that henceforth their power was confined to India. The family of Eucratides on the other hand ruled both in Bactria and in India until Greek civilization in Bactria was swept away by the flood of Ṣaka invasions from the North *c.* 135 B. C., but they held the territories to the south of the Hindu Kush, and held the Kabul valley until the Kushan conquest *c.* 25 B. C." (Rapson pp. 124-5). The transference of Greek rule from Bactria to India is indicated by the bilingual coins which were struck with Greek legends on the *obverse*, and with an Indian translation in Indian characters on the *reverse*. The most remarkable of these kings was Menander, who reigned in Kabul from about 160 to 140 B. C.. and who invaded India as seen before. In the interval between 140 and 120 B. C., the kingdom declined, because of its weakness arising from internal feuds, Parthian attacks and the drain on its resources caused by the Indian conquests, and because of the attacks of the hordes of the Scythians through the northern frontiers c. 135 B. C. The Indo-Bactrian kings then continued to exist as petty chiefs under the Saka and Kushan Kings.

3. The History of the Indo-Parthian Kingdom.

A. The First Period of its History—The Period of *Parthian* Kingdom—Parthia was originally a province of the Persian Empire, then of Alexander's Empire, and finally of the Seleucid Empire, and lay to the south-east of the Caspian sea. In 248 B. C. a Parthian adventurer, named Arsakes, threw off the allegiance to the Seleucid Monarch, and founded the independent kingdom of Parthia under the Arsakidan dynasty. The dynasty continued for five centuries, and was then succeeded by the Sassanian dynasty. Mithradates I (171-136 B. C.), a very able monarch and a contemporary of Bactrian Eukratides, succeeded in extending his dominions so widely that his power was felt as far as the Indus. and probably even to the east of the

river. (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 227). "The river Indus thus became once more the dividing line between western Asia and India." (Rapson). It was this Parthian pressure that partly accounts for the decline of the Indo-Bactrian power.

B. The Second Period of its History—The Period of *Indo-Parthian* Kingdom—The Parthian king, Mithradates I, conquered the country between the Indus and the Jhelum or the Kingdom of Taxila in about 138 B. C. The Indo-Parthian kings adopted the title of Satrap or Great Satrap as several other Indian rulers of foreign origin, and the use of this title continued for several hundred years. The last ruler to use it was the Saka Satrap Surashtra who was conquered and dethroned by the Gupta Emperor towards the close of the fourth century A. D. There were two main lines of Indo-Parthian princes, one of which ruled in Arachosia and Seistan, while the other governed the western Punjab or the Kingdom of Taxila. The most famous and interesting of all these latter princes was Gondophares, who seems to have conquered Sindh and Arachosia, making himself master of a wider dominion free from Parthian control. His reign may be placed between 20 and 48 A. D. (*Oxford History*, p. 126). According to a strong historical tradition St. Thomas the Apostle preached Christianity in his Kingdom. (Read Smith, *Oxford History*, p. 126, *E. H. I.*, pp. 231-235). The fall of the Indo-Parthian Kingdom was partly due to its weakness which arose from its division into two parts, the Kingdom of the western Punjab and that of Arachosia and Sindh, and partly to the expansion and pressure of the Kushan power under Kadphises II who conquered the whole of the Indus region. But as in the case of the Indo-Bactrian Chiefs, petty Parthian principalities may have continued to exist for some time longer in the delta of the Indus as observed by the author of the *Periplus*. Later on, one section of the Parthians, called the *Pallavas*, became important in South India.

4. The History of the Indo-Scythian Kingdoms.

A. The Sakas—The Indo-Scythians consisted of two branches—The Sakas and the Kushans. The hords of nomads

called the Great Yueh-chi, who were driven out of western China between 174 and 160 B. C. migrated westwards along the road to the north of the Taklamakan or Gobi desert. In the course of their long wanderings they encountered another nomad nation, the Sakas, who dwelt to the north of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya river. The Sakas, being defeated by the Yueh-chi, were forced to yield their pasture-grounds to the victors, and themselves to seek new quarters in the borderlands of India. The Yueh-chi finally settled in the valley of the Oxus, probably exercising authority over Bactria to the south. The Sakas, after leaving Bactria, moved in a southerly direction and crossed the Hindu Kush—one stream settled in Afghanistan, known as Seistan from them, while a second stream moved towards India. Having entered India, one division settled in the lower Indus region or Sind, in Kathiawar and in Gujarat, and the other to the north in Taxila in the upper Indus valley and in Mathura on the Jumna. The rulers of the first or western division were known as the "Western Satraps" from 100 B. C.—390 A. D., and those of the other, "Northern Satraps" from 100 B. C.—100 A. D. The northern kingdom was soon absorbed in the Kushan Empire in about 100 A, D., while the western continued till 390 A. D., when the Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II, conquered it.

B. **The Kushans**—When the Yueh-chi settled in Bactrian lands, they became divided into five principalities, at a date which cannot be determined with any approach to exactness. More than a century later, the Kushan section or sept of the Yueh-chi attained a predominant position over the other sections of the horde under the leadership of a great Chief, called by modern historians as *Kadphises I* who became the king of the Kushans in about 40 A. D. Presumably finding the limits of Bactria too narrow for the growing population of his dominions, he was impelled to attack the lands to the south of the Hindu Kush. During his long reign, 40-78 A. D., he consolidated Bactria, conquered the Kabul region and annexed Gandhara, including the kingdom of Taxila to the east of the Indus, where he seems to have succeeded Gondophares in 48 A. D. The next king was *Kadphises II* (78—110 A. D.)—"It is reasonable to believe, although

strict proof is lacking, that the Saka Era of A. D. 78 dates from the beginning of his reign, either from his actual accession or from his formal enthronement a little later." (Smith, *O. H.* p. 128). He seems to have secured the supremacy of the Gangetic valley at least as far as Benares, and also of the Indus basin. It may be that his power extended southwards as far as the Narmada. The Saka Satraps in Malwa and western India appear to have owned him as their overlord. At this time China was a great power and was on a career of expansion to the west. The progress of Chinese arms alarmed Kadphises II, who in 90 A. D. boldly asserted his equality with the "Sun of Heaven" by demanding in marriage the hand of a Chinese Princess. The proposal was resented as an insult and the Kushan envoy was arrested. Kadphises then sent a huge army for the invasion of China, but it perished, like the army of Muhmad Taghlak later on, due to the difficulties of the route, and the remnants were defeated by the Chinese army. Kadphises was compelled to pay tribute to China. The greatest Kushan king was *Kanishka* (120-162). "It seems to be probable that an appreciable space of time intervened between the death of Kadphises II, which may be dated in or about A. D. 110, and the accession of Kanishka, which may be assigned to A. D. 120 approximately." (Smith, *O. H.*, p. 130). (For the reign of Kanishka, see Section 5 below). *Havishka* (162—182), the youngest son of Kanishka (?), was the last Kushan King to maintain an extensive Empire. He was followed by the "Later Kushan" kings during whose reigns we witness the decline of the Empire. The fall of the Empire was due to the weakness of the later kings—Vasudeva I (182 or 185—220) and Kanishka II (220—226), aud the rise of the Persian power with the Sassanian dynasty, in 226 A. D.—an assumption based on the Persianized form of the coinage of the later kings, and their absorption into the Hindu Society as indicated by the name "Vasudeva" which suggests the worship of Vishnu as Vasudeva. Though the Kushan Empire came to an end, strong Kushan dynasties continued to exist in Kabul and the neighbouring countries until the Hun invasion of the fifth century, and some principalities survived even until the Arab conquest of Persia in the seventh

century. Thus, since the death of Asoka to the accession of Chandra Gupta, India had a long period of *foreign* rule, when several kings and kingdoms rose and fell, and now India was again ripe for the establishment of another great Indian Empire—the Gupta Empire.

5. Kanishka (120—162 A. D.) [125—153; 78—123].

A. **Sources of Information**—The only literary sources are *Buddhist works* of India, Tibet and China. But archaeological sources are numerous. A large number of inscriptions and coins of this period has been discovered. The Buddhist buildings of Kanishka's period, which have recently been discovered by the Archaeological Department also supply us with much information regarding the religion and foreign influence during the period.

B. **His Dominions**—He was the king of Gandhara. Hiuen Tsang expressly states that "when Kanishka reigned in Gandhara his power reached the neighbouring States, and his influence extended to distant regions." Tradition and the monuments and inscriptions of his time prove that his sway extended all over North-Western India, probably as far south as the Vindhyas, as well as over the remote regions beyond the Pamir passes. (Smith, p. 259). The capital of his Indian dominions, and apparently the seat of his central government, was Pushpapura or Purushapura or Peshawar—the city which then guarded, as it still does, the main road from the Afghan hills to the Indian plains.

C. **His Foreign Relations**—"The Indian embassy which offered its congratulations to Trajan at some date after his return to Rome in A. D. 99 may have been dispatched by Kanishka (?) to announce his conquest." (*E. H. I.*, p. 259). He may be credited with having completed the subjugation and annexation of the secluded valley of Kashmir. He certainly showed a marked preference for that delightful country, where he erected numerous monuments and the town which still bears his name–Kanishkapura. Tradition affirms that he penetrated far into the interior of India, and even attacked Pataliputra, and warred with the Parthians.

He avenged his predecessor's defeat in Chinese Turkistan, and subdued the petty kings in the Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar regions who had been tributary to China.

D. **Kanishka as a Buddhist**—The stories told about his *conversion* have so much resemblance to the Asokan legends that it is difficult to decide how far they are traditions of actual fact and how far merely echoes of an older tradition. (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 265). He followed the example set by Asoka in convening a *Council* of theologians to settle disputed questions of Buddhist faith and practice. It met at Kundalavana near the capital of Kashmir. The decrees of the Council took the form of authorized commentaries on the canon, which were engraved on sheets of copper, enclosed in a stone coffer, and placed for safety in a 'Stupa' erected at the place. The Buddhist sect which alone sent delegates to this Council was formally classed as belonging to the *Hina-yana* or Lesser Vehicle, the more primitive form of Buddhism. "But the cult actually practised more extensively in his time was the *Maha-yana* or Great Vehicle. (For a fuller account of the Council, read Smith, *E. H. I.*, pp. 267-8). He sent a *Mission to China*, following the example of Asoka. During his period there took place the *Transformatian of Buddhism.* Buddhism had two stages in its growth—the Hina-yana and the Maha-yana; to the latter belonged Kanishka. The new features of Buddhism consisted in the introduction of the *images* of Buddha and of *novel ideas.* The Buddhists of the Kushan age had no such scruples as the early Buddhists, who did not dare to form an image of their dead teacher. "The teaching which was exactly attuned to the inmost feelings of a congregation in Benares needed fundamental change before it could move the heart of the sturdy mountaineer, the nomad horseman, or the Hellenized Alexandrian. The moment Indian Buddhism began its foreign travels it was bound to change." (*Oxford History*, p. 133). "The veneration for a dead Teacher passed into the worship of a living saviour." (*Ibid*, p. 134). Herein lies the essential difference between the two schools of Buddhism. The age from A. D. 105 to 273 may be taken as marking the time when the Maha-yana system was

developed. Buddhist authors treat him as having been a second Asoka: during his reign Buddhism had its first revival, though in a new form.

E. Kanishka as a Builder---Architecture, with its subsidiary art of sculpture, enjoyed the liberal patronage of Kanishka, who was, like Asoka, a great builder. The chief structures and foundations were the tower at Peshawor, 400 feet high; the Sukh section of Taxila; Kanishkapura in Kashmir; and Mathura on the Jumna was adorned by numerous fine buildings and artistic sculptures. Much of the Buddhist sculpture of Kanishka's time is executed in the syle of "Gandhara School," called "the Graeco-Buddhist." (*Oxford History*, pp. 136-7).

BOOK IV

THE PURANIC AGE—320-650 A. D.

CHAPTER I. THE GUPTA EMPIRE.

[Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. XI and XII; *Oxford History*, Bk. II, Ch. 4; Rangaswamy, Ch. VII.]

1. Preliminary.

A. The Importance of the Age—From the point of view of Indian Chronology, "the transition from the unsettled and hotly disputed history of the foreign dynasties to the comparatively serene atmosphere of the Gupta Period is no less agreeable to the historian than the similar passage from the uncertainties of the Nandas to the ascertained verities of the Mauryas." (Smith). We are entering upon an age with a Chronology, not only certain in all its main outlines, but also precise in detail to a large extent, except for the latter half of the sixth century. In the political history of India the Puranic Age has witnessed two of the greatest Empires of India—the Gupta Empire and Harsha's Empire. Thus we emerge from the period of foreign rule, and as Smith observes "In the fourth century light again dawns, the veil of oblivion is lifted, and the history of India regains unity and interest. Regarding the civilisation of the period, a learned European scholar declares that "the Gupta Period is in the annals of classical India almost what the Periclean Age is in the history of Greece." It was the period of the "Hindu Renaissance." In the opinion of Smith, "The age of the great Gupta Kings presents a more agreeable and satisfactory picture than any other period in the history of Hindu India."

B. The Sources of Information—(*a*) Literary—The *Puranas* are the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition. Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Puranic lists, but closer

study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition. There is also Bana's "*Harshacharita*" or "Deeds of Harsha" a historical romance on the Emperor Harsha, the patron of Bana. "It is of high value, both as a depository of ancient tradition, and a record of contemporary history, in spite of obvious faults". (Smith). The *Foreign* sources are the accounts of the two Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hian made a tour in India from 401-10, during the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya; and Huen-Tsang began his travels in 629 A. D., entered India in 630 and left it in 643. Between these dates he visited almost every province in India, recording numberless exact observations on the country, monuments, people, and religion, which entitle him to be called 'the Indian Pausanias.' He visited the court of Harsha. (*b*) Archaeological—For the Puranic Age, we have very few archaeological sources of information. The only Epigraphic sources are the few inscriptions of Samudragupta on Asoka's pillars and on copper plates which are dated about 500 A. D., dealing chiefly with grants of lands to temples and priests. Numismatic sources are of a secondary nature, as authentic literary sources for the period are abundant.

C. The Synopsis of the History of the Puranic Age.

I. SECOND INDIAN EMPIRE—*The Gupta Empire* (320-490).

(*a*) The Early Gupta Dynasty = 320 A. D.—535 A. D.

1. Early Gupta Kings (320-413)	(1)	Chandragupta I	(320-330)
	(2)	Samudragupta	(330-375)
	(3)	Chandragupta II	(375-413)
2. Later Gupta Kings (413-535)	(1)	Kumaragupta I	(413-455)
	(2)	Skandagupta	(455-480)
	(3)	Puragupta	(480-485)
	(4)	Narasimhagupta	(485-530)
	(5)	Kumaragupta II	(530-535)

(*b*) The Later Gupta Dynasty = 535—547—720 A. D.

II. FOREIGN EMPIRE—The Indo-Hun Empire (490—540).

III. THIRD INDIAN EMPIRE—The Empire of Harsha (600—650).

2. Origin of the Empire—Chandragupta I (320-330).

A. The Rise of the Lichchavis—During the long period of about eight centuries which intervened between the reign of Ajatasatru and the marriage of the princess Kumara Devi, the history of the Lichchavis has been lost for the most part, although they are known to have established a dynasty in Nepal, which used an era believed to run from A. D. 111. It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union they were masters of Pataliputra. In the olden days the Lichchavis of Vaisali have been the rivals of the kings of Pataliputra, and apparently during the disturbed times which followed the reign of Pushyamitra, they took possession of the city, and ruled there as tributaries or feudatories of the Kushans, whose headquarters were at Peshawar.

B. Rise of Chandragupta to Power— Chandragupta was a local Raja at or near Pataliputra. He wedded, in or about 308 A. D., the Lichchavi princess Kumara Devi. This princess evidently brought as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring districts. This connection raised him from the rank of a local Chief to such dignity that he felt justified in assuming the lofty title of 'Sovereign of Maharajas.' He struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen and the Lichchavis.

C. His Work—He extended the Magadha Kingdom along the Gangetic valley as far as the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, where Allahabad now stands. This populous and fertile territory included Tirhut, South Bihar, Oudh, and certain adjoining districts. He established a new era—the Gupta era—which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated. It is dated from his formal coronation and the first year ran from February 26, A. D. 320 to March 13, 321, the former being the date of his coronation.

3. Growth of the Empire—Samudragupta (330-375).

A. His Character and Aims—Before his death, Chandragupta had selected as his successor the Crown Prince,

Samudragupta. The selection was abundantly justified by Samudragupta, who displayed a degree of skill in the arts of both peace and war which entitles him to high rank among the most illustrious sovereigns of India. He acted on the principle that 'Kingdom-taking' is the business of kings, and immediately after his accession, assumed the part of an aggressively ambitious monarch, and plunged himself into wars with his neighbours. There was the happy combination of the warrior, stateman, poet and musician in him.

B. **His Conquests**—Our source of information for his conquests is the panegyric, in Sanskrit prose and poetry, composed by Harishena and engraved on Asoka's pillars. The author classifies his campaigns geographically under four heads: as those directed against eleven kings of the south; nine named kings of Aryavarta or the Gangetic plain, besides many others not specified; the Chiefs of the wild forest tribes; and the rulers of the frontier kingdoms and republics. He also explains Samudragupta's relations with certain foreign powers, too remote to come within the power of his arms. Conquest of Northern India—He thoroughly subjugated the Rajas of the Gangetic plain or Hindustan proper, and incorporated their territories in his dominions. Among the nine names mentioned the only recognizable one is that of Ganapati Naga, whose capital was at Padmavati or Narwar, a famous city, which still exists in the territories of Sindia. These conquests were completed before his invasion of the south—"a task which demanded uncommon boldness in design, and masterly powers of organization and execution." (Smith). Conquest of South Kosala and Forest Tribes—He then marched due south from the capital to the South Kosala kingdom in the valley of the Mahanaḍi and overthrew its king, Mahendra. Passing on he subdued all the Chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary States of Orissa and the more backward parts of Central Provinces. Conquest in Southern India—This wonderful campaign of the "Indian Napoleon" covered as many as 3000 miles. The first among the Deccan Princes attacked was that of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga whose capital was Pishtapura,

now Pithapuram in the Godavari district. Then came the hill-forts of Mahendragiri and Kottura in Ganjam; King Mantaraja, whose territory lay on the banks of the Kolleru (Colair) lake; the neighbouring king Vengi between the Krishna and Godavari rivers, presumably a Pallava; and Vishnugopa, the king of Kanchi or Conjeevaram, almost certainly a Pallava, lying to the south-west of Madras. "Then turning westwards, he subjugated a chieftain named Ugrasena, king of *Palakka*, a place perhaps situated in the Nellore District." (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 284). Rangaswamy's interpretation of 'Palakka' as Palghat seems to be more reasonable. (See his map, p. 94 and Smith's map, p. 284 in *E. H. I.* and p. 150 in *O. H.*). He returned homewards in 350 A. D. through western parts of the Deccan, subduing on his way the kingdom of Devarashtra or the modern Mahratta country, and Erandapalla or Khandesh, "No attempt was made to effect the permanent annexation of these southern states; the triumphant victor admitting that he only exacted a temporary submission and then withdrew. But beyond doubt he despoiled the rich treasures of the south, and came back laden with golden booty, like the Muhammaden adventurer [Malik Kafur] who performed the same military exploits nearly a thousand years later."-(Smith, *E. H. I.* 284).

C. **The Extent of His Empire**—Samudragupta's Empire consisted of three zones—the territory directly under the imperial government, the tributary frontier states, and the protected states. (1) The dominion under the government comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India, extending from the Hoogly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west, and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmada on the south. (2) The tributary frontier states were five in number—Samatata or the Delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra; Kamarupa or Assam; Davaka between Samatata and Kamarupa; Nepal; Kartripura in the western Himalayas. These were attached to the Empire by bonds of subordinate alliance. (3) The protected states were the tribal republics in the Punjab, eastern Rajputana and Malwa—the Yaudheya tribe along both banks of the Sutlej; the Madrakas in the central parts of the Punjab; the Arjunayanas, Malavas and Abhiras in eastern Rajputana and Malwa. Besides,

almost all the southern kingdoms had been compelled to acknowledge the Emperor's irresistible might, though not included in the Empire. The Empire thus defined was by far the greatest that had been seen in India since the days of Asoka, six senturies before.

D. His Foreign Relations—Samudragupta, with such an extensive Empire, was naturally entitled to the respect of foreign powers, and he maintained diplomatic relations with the Kushan King of Gandhara and Kabul, and of the Oxus, as well as with Rudrasena, the Western Satrap, and with Ceylon under Meghavarna—an important synchronism. (Read Smith, *E. H. I*, p. 287).

E. His Domestic Policy—He was a great patron of learning. He took much delight in the society of the learned, whose services he engaged in the defence of the sacred Hindu scriptures. His skill in music is commemorated by certain rare gold coins or medals which depict the king seated on a coach playing the 'vina.' He was equally proficient in the allied art of poetry, and is said to have composed numerous works worthy of the professional author. He was also a great patron of Hinduism. He revived the ancient rite of the 'Asvameda,' which had probably not been performed in Northern India since the days of Pushyamitra. The ceremony was duly carried out with appropriate splendour, and accompanied by lavish gifts to the Brahmans, comprising, it is said, millions of coins and gold pieces. Gold medals and the rudely carved stone figure of a horse, now in the Lucknow Museum, are memorials of this event. Neverthless, he extended toleration to Buddhism. Although himself a Brahmanical Hindu with a special devotion to Vishnu, like the other members of his dynasty, he showed favour in his youth to Vasubandhu, the celebrated Buddhist author. Administration—After his return from his South Indian campaigns and the subsequent horse-sacrifice, he reigned gloriously for the remainder of a long reign of nearly half a century. During his last years he associated with himself in the work of government his favourite son, Chandragupta II. During his long reign the country was so well administered that we do not hear of any wars or rebellions within it, and the peace and security enjoyed by his subjects won the praise of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian.

F. His Greatness as a Ruler—Samudragupta was thus one of the most powerful Rulers and Conquerors of India. "Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill attained by Samudragupta in the practice of the arts which graced his scanty leisure, it is clear that he was endowed with no ordinary powers; and that he was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napolean." (Smith).

4. Zenith of the Empire—Chandragupta II (375-413).

A. His Accession and Character—About A. D. 375 Samudragupta was succeeded by the son specially selected as the most worthy of the crown, who assumed his grandfather's name Chandragupta. Later in life be took the additional title of Vikramaditya (="Sun of Power"), which was associated by tradition with the Rajah of Ujjain who is believed to have defeated the Sakas and established the Vikrama Era in 58—57 B. C. (For the discussion of the Vikramas, see *E. H. I.*, p. 303). The ascertained facts of his career prove that he was a strong and vigorous ruler well qualified to govern and augment an extensive empire. He loved sounding titles which proclaimed his martial prowess, and was fond of depicting himself on his coins as engaged in the sport of kings, personal combat with a lion.

B. His Conquests—Between 388 and 401, he conquered Malwa, Gujarat and Surashtra or Kathiawar, which had been ruled for centuries by the Saka dynasty known as the Western Satraps. (For an account of their history, see *E. H. I.*, pp. 291-2). The last Satrap, Rudrasimha, was killed, and his territories were incorporated within the Gupta Empire in about 400 A. D. These annexations "not only added to the empire provinces of exceptional wealth and fertility, but opened up to the paramount power free access to the ports of the western coast [Cambay, Sapara and Broach]; and thus placed Chandragupta II in direct touch with the sea-borne commerce with Europe through Egypt, and brought his court and subjects under the influence of the European ideas which travelled with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants." (Smith).

C. **His Domestic Policy**—From Fa-Hian's account, we know the condition of the Empire under him. The remoteness of Pataliputra for the efficient administration of a huge Empire must have caused inconvenience even in the time of the Mauryas. Hence Ayodhya, the legendary abode of the hero Rama, which enjoyed a more central and favourable situation, appears to have been at times the head-quarters of the goverment of both Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. There is reason to believe that during the fifth century Ayodhya, rather than Pataliputra, was the premier city of the Gupta Empire. Pataliputra continued to be a magnificent and populous city throughout the reign of Vikramaditya, and was apparently not ruined until the time of the Hun invasion in the sixth century. Fa-Hian, who visited India in the reign of Chandragupta II, was deeply impressed by the sight of Asoka's palace. From the particulars gathered by Fa-Hian, we know that Chandragupta's dominions were well governed. "Probably India has never been governed better, after the Oriental manner, than it was during the reign of Vikramaditya." (Smith). The royal guards and officers were paid regular salaries. The continued progress of Hinduism as well as of Buddhism is attested by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian. He saw several Buddhist monasteries tenanted by thousands of monks, and in the neighbourhood of Mathura he found twenty of these buildings occupied by three thousand monks. Buddhism was growing in favour in this part of the country. These facts indicate the religious toleration of the Hindu Emperors. Charitable institutions were numerous; rest-houses for travellers were provided on the highways, and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. (Read Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 289). The prosperity of the Country—especially that of Malwa, excited the admiration of the traveller who was delighted alike with the natural advantages of the country, the disposition of the people, and the moderation of the government. The large population lived happily under a sensible government which did not worry the subjects. The accounts of Fa-Hian leave on us the impression that the Neo-Hinduism of the Gupta age was the revival of the old Hinduism modified by the ethical code of Buddhism.

5. The Decay of the Empire--Later Gupta Kings.

A. The Beginning of the Decline—*(1) Kumaragupta I* (413-455)—The decline and fall of the Gupta Empire is a very slow process which began with the reign of Kumaragupta. During the greater part of his prolonged rule the Empire suffered no dimunition. On the contrary, it probably gained certain additions, for he celebrated the horse-sacrifice as an assertion of his paramount sovereignty. About the year 450, he was involved in a war with a rich and powerful nation called Pushyamitra in which the Imperial armies were defeated and consequently the stability of the dynasty was endangered. About the same time, his dominions suffered severely from the irruption of the Hun hordes, who spread in a destructive flood all over Northern India. *(2) Skandagupta* (455-480) was the last of the "Great Guptas." The Second Hun invasion between 455 and 458 was repelled by him, and the defeat was so decisive that India was saved for a time. He commemorated his victory by the erection of a pillar of victory, surmounted by a statue of the god Vishnu, and inscribed with an account of the delivery of his country from barbarian tyranny through the protection of the gods. Another inscription of 458 recites his defeat of the Huns, and recognizes his undisputed possession of the peninsula of Surashtra or Kathiawar. That his rule at this early period of his reign included the eastern provinces is testified by a sculptured column erected in 461 about 90 miles from Patna. And the dedication of a temple to the sun in 465, in the country between the Ganges and Jumna, indicates that the Central Provinces also enjoyed a settled government. The third invasion of the Huns resulted in their occupation of Gandhara in 465, and in 470 they advanced to the interior and attacked Skandagupta in the heart of his dominions. This time he was forced to succumb to the repeated attacks of the Barbarians who were constantly recruited by fresh hordes eager for the plunder of India. "The financial distress of his administratton is plainly indicated by the abrupt debasement of the coinage in his later years." (Smith, p. 311).

B. Progress of the Decline—When Skandagupta died in 480, the Empire perished, but the dynasty remained, and the kingdom was confined to the eastern provinces. *Puragupta*, the son of Kumaragupta I succeeded him (480—485) The only event which can be assigned to his reign is the reform of the currency, and his rare gold coins weighing 121 grains of pure gold, are equal in value to the aurei of Augustus, and superior to the best Kushan or early Gupta coins. His successor *Narasimhagupta* (485—530) gave public proof of his favour to Buddhism by building at Nalanda, in Magadha, the principal seat of Buddhist learning in Northern India, a brick temple, more than 300 feet high and decorated with gold and gems in its furniture as testified by Huen Tsang. He took vigorous and successful action against the Huns in about 528. *Kumaragupta* II (530—535) was the last of the "imperial line of the Guptas." Events of his reign are not known. His dominions evidently were restricted to the eastern provinces.

C. Fall of the Gupta Empire—The Gupta imperial line passes by an obscure transition into a dynasty comprising eleven Gupta Princes, called "Later Guptas of Magadha," who appear to have been for the most part merely local rulers in Magadha until 700 A. D. Only two kings of this later dynasty are notable. The most famous was *Adityasena*, who asserted his independence after the death of the paramount sovereign, Harsha, in 647 A. D., and even presumed to celebrate the horse-sacrifice in token of his claim to supreme rank. The last known Raja of the dynasty was *Jivitagupta* II, who reigned early in the eighth century. About the end of that century or at the beginning of the ninth, Magadha passed under the sway of the Pala Kings of Bengal.

6. Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Gupta Empire.

A. Internal Weakness—Politically, it is difficult for a large empire to be maintained by a whole dynasty without disintegration. Due to the ability of the later Gupta Emperors, the Empire did not break-up earlier. The military resources of the Empire must have deteriorated, and the vigour and vitality of the army

had gone. The occasional successes against the Huns were due to the ability of the warlike Kings rather than the efficiency of the army. The economic stability of the Empire was also weakened as shown by the attempt to debase the currency due to the general decline of its prosperity.

B. External Pressure of the Huns—The outlying provinces of Malwa and Kathiawar established their independence. The names of two Rajas are known—Budhagupta and Bhanugupta, who cover the period from 484 to 510, and who were evidently subordinate to the Hun Chiefs. The kingdom of Valabhi, probably foreign, was established in the east of the Kathiawar peninsula. It developed into a strong kingdom with Valabhi as its capital, one of the great cities and seats of learning in Huen Tsang's time. This was also dependent upon the Huns. Thus due to the expansion of the Hun power, western provinces fell away from the control of the east.

7. The Golden Age of the Guptas.

A. Political and Social Aspects—The period of the six great Guptas is generally known as the "golden age of the Guptas," and the chief feature of it is the "Hindu Renaissance." The revival has four main aspects—political, social, religious, and intellectual. Fa-Hian's testimony proves that the government was free from cruelty and was not debased by the horrible system of espionage advocated by Kautilya and actually practised by the Mauryas. The government let the people live their own lives without needless interference; was temperate in the repression of crime, and tolerant in matters of religion." (Smith). As the natural result of the Hindu revival, the ideas of law and administration followed during the epoch were necessarily based upon the Code of Manu. *Caste* rules had become rigid, and occupations followed caste. Fa-Hian bears witness to the sober habits of the mass of the people, and to their active charity. He says that cowries were commonly used as the medium of exchange; but the numerous extant coins of various types in gold, silver, and copper, prove that a considerable metallic currency was also in use.

B. Religious Aspect—"The most notable movement of the age was the general displacement of Buddhism by a modified form of Brahmanism, which has since become known by the name of Hinduism." (Rangaswamy, p. 101). This modified form of Brahmanism has been called "New Hinduism" by some authors. We saw how, about the beginning of the Christian Era, both religions attempted to win the support of the masses by adopting as distinctive features of their respective creeds many of the popular beliefs and practices, such as faith in many petty gods and goddesses, the worship of idols and grand religious processions and ceremonies. In this adoption of the beliefs of the common people, Buddhism apparently set the first example, but was soon followed by Brahmanism, which assimilated much of what was noble or popular in Buddhist teachings. Further, Hinduism began to receive within its fold as Kashatriyas (nobles), foreign or low-born dynasties, like the Kushans, the Guptas, and the Huns, who therefore became its generous patrons. "Under these influences, Hinduism set about the systematic exposition of its doctrines and ideals in an extensive religious and social literature, to which belong the great books of religious and social tradition called the Puranas and the versified law-books" (Rangaswamy, p. 102).

C. Intellectual Aspect—The Gupta Age was the most productive of Sanskrit poetry and learning. At the court of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya flourished many of the greatest poets and men of science. Kalidasa, the first among the classical Sanskrit poets, is now believed to have composed his dramas and poems in the court of Chandragupta II or Kumaragupta I. As much of what is best in classical Sanskrit was produced during this epoch, it is sometimes referred to by scholars and historians as the "golden age" of Sanskrit literature. (Rangaswamy, p. 105). In the field of mathematical and astronomical science the Gupta Age is adorned by the illustrious names of Aryabhatta and Varahamihira. Kaye, a competent authority, holds that the period when mathematics flourished in India commenced about A. D. 400 and ended about A. D. 650, after which deterioration set in.

D. **Artistic Aspect**—The fine arts of music, architecture, sculpture, and painting attained such a high level of excellence during the Gupta period that this is also the golden age of fine arts in ancient India. Samudragupta practised and encouraged music. In spite of the repeated destructive invasions of the Muslims, enough remains of the numerous magnificent buildings of the Gupta Age, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, to justify the assertion that the art of architecture was practised on a large scale with eminent success. The allied art of sculpture attained a high degree of perfection not recognized until recently. "The physical beauty of the figures, the gracious dignity of their attitude, and the refined restraint of the treatment are qualities not to be found elsewhere in Indian sculpture in the same degree." (Smith). Painting, as exemplified by some of the best frescoes at Ajanta and the cognate works at Sigiriya in Ceylon (A. D. 479-97), was practised with equal, or perhaps, greater success.

E. **Foreign Influence on the Hindu Renaissance**—The great intellectual activity and vitality of the Gupta Period undoubtedly was largely due to the constant and lively exchange of ideas with foreign lands in both East and West. Between A. D. 357 and 571, ten embassies or missions, some probably of a commercial character, were sent to China from one part of India or the other. Corresponding to the stream of Chinese pilgrims to India, we hear of a stream of Indian sages to China. There was inter-communication between India and the Archipelago, especially Java. Similarly Ind a had connections with Persia and with Rome. The contact with the Chinese, the Greeks and the Romans, increased the trade of India and brought in new ideas and ideals which explain the splendour and vitality of the Hindu renaissance of the Golden Age of the Guptas.

CHAPTER III. FOREIGN RULE IN INDIA—THE HUNS.

[Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. XII; *Oxford History* pp. 163—4 Rangaswamy, pp. 96—98; Marsden, pp. 180—181.]

1. Preliminary.

A. Sources of Information—The chief sources of information are Sanskrit literature, Buddhist books, Hieun Tsang's account, in which there are occasional allusions to the Huns as Hunas, as well as some inscriptions and coins.

B. The Huns—The Huns are generally supposed to have belonged to the Mongolian race, and are described by Gibbon as an uncouth and ugly race. (Read Smith, p. 318) They were a nomadic and savage people. When they moved westwards from the steppes of Asia to seek subsistence for their hungry multitudes in other regions, the Huns divided themselves into two main streams, one directed towards the valley of the Oxus, and the other to that of the Volga. The latter poured into Eastern Europe, in A. D. 375, under Attila. Those in the Oxus valley were perhaps different in race, and were known as the White Huns. These Hun hordes attacked Persia and the Kushan kingdom of Kabul, and then poured into India.

2. The Hun Empire in India.

A. Its Origin under Toramana (490—510 A. D.)—The condition which favoured the rise of a Hun Empire in India consisted in the weakness of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia, of the Kushan kingdom of Kabul and of the later Guptas of India. They invaded India twice (455 and 470) in Skandagupta's reign. The first was repelled, but the second was a successful invasion resulting in their settlement in North-Western India under their leader Toramana who is known to have established as ruler of Malwa in Central India prior to A. D. 500 with the title of "Sovereign of Maharajas" and with Bhanugupta and the king of the Valabhi and many other Princes, as tributaries. When Toramana died in about 510, his Indian Empire was consolidated sufficiently to pass to his son Mihiragula.

B. Its Zenith under Mihiragula (510—540 A. D.)—His Indian capital was Sakala, modern Sialkot, and the head-quarters of the horde were at Bamyin in Badhaghis near Herat, and the ancient capital of Balkh served as a secondary capital. India at this time was only one province of the Hun Empire. These three towns indicate the extent of the Empire. Mihiragula is called "the Attila of India," stained with a more than ordinary degree of "implacable cruelty," noted by historians as characteristic of the Hun temperament. The Hindu Princes formed a confederacy to check the power of the Huns which became unbearable to the native Princes. The leaders of this confederacy were Narasimhagupta and Yasodharman, a Raja of Central India. About 528 they inflicted a decisive defeat on Mihiragula, who was taken prisoner and sent to the north with all honour. His brother, meanwhile, usurped the throne of Sakala, and Mihiragula was forced to take refuge in Kashmir, whose king placed him in charge of a small territory. He rebelled against the benefactor and seized his throne. He then attacked Gandhara; the king, perhaps a Hun, was treacherously slain, the royal family was exterminated and the people slaughtered. He exhibited his ferocious hostility against the peaceful Buddhist cult by overthrowing stupas and monasteries and plundering them. He died soon afterwards in about 540.

C. The Causes of the Fall of the Hun Empire in India—The crushing defeat of Mihiragula was the most decisive cause. The Indian Princes once more united against foreign domination as in the days which followed the invasions of Alexander and Seleucas. Moreover during the first half of the sixth century, the pressure from the Turkish tribes, and their alliance with Persia, brought about the destruction of the Hun Empire in Asia between 563 and 567. The small bodies of the Huns who still remained in India, being cut off from their support, were destroyed in detail by local Indian Rajas, who obtained among their contemporaries a degree of fame and influence proportionate to their activity and success in ridding the country of the common enemy.

3. The Effects of the Hun Invasions.

A. **Political**—The ancient Hindu writers display great unwillingness to dwell upon 'Barbarian' invasions, uniting in a 'conspiracy of silence.' The recognition of their importance has had to be won laboriously by the patient researches of modern archaeologists and ethnologists. The importance of the Hun invasions on India is thus becoming realised. The Hun invasions shattered the Gupta power and thus did away with the only paramount power capable of preserving political unity in Northern India. Hence they prepared the way for the anarchical period of the middle ages. Secondly, the destruction of the Hun power necessarily dried up the stream of Barbarian immigration into India, which enjoyed almost complete immunity from the defeat of Mihiragula until the raids of Muhmud of Ghazni at the beginning of the eleventh century, and which was therefore free to work out her destiny in her own fashion. Thirdly, "when his heavy hand was removed all those elements were let loose, and, after a period of unrecorded anarchy, produced in the domain of politics the new grouping of states" (Smith). Thus the Hun invasion prepared the way for the Rajput Age.

B. **Social**—The invasion added a new and permanent element to Indian population. Unlike other nomadic peoples who retreated to other regions when defeated, the Huns remained in India and became rapidly Indianised as the earlier Scythian invaders had been, and were gradually absorbed in the surrounding population. They were probably the ancestors of some of the Rajput clans, such as the Gurjaras. (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 322 and 411). The invasion of the Huns and associated foreign tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries, shook Indian society in Northern India to its foundations, severed the chain of tradition, and brought about a rearrangement of both castes and ruling families of the subsequent Rajput Age.

CHAPTER IV. THE EMPIRE OF HARSHA

[Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. XIII; *Oxford History* pp. 165—170; Rangaswamy, pp. 98—100.]

1. Preliminary.

A. State of Northern India in 600 A. D.—At the beginning of the seventh century there was no paramount power in Northern India. • In the Gangetic plain, the Later Guptas continued to rule as local Chiefs. In the Punjab, the Hun Chiefs still held sway though their empire was broken up. In Malwa there was the powerful kingdom of Ujjain, the most important king, known to history, is Yasodarman, who was a vassal of the Guptas and who had joined the Gupta lord in the confederacy against the Huns. There was another kingdom, that of Srikantha, with its capital of Thaneswar (Sthaneswara), which rose to pre-eminence at the beginning of the seventh century and developed into the paramount power under Harshavardana.

B. Sources of Information—The deficiency of material which embarrasses the historian when dealing with the latter half of the sixth century is no longer experienced when he enters upon the seventh. For this period he is fortunate enough to possess, in addition to the ordinary epigraphic and numismatic sources, two contemporary literary works—"Travels" of Hiuen Tsang and the "Deeds of Harsha" (Harshacharita), composed by Bana, a Brahmin author, who lived at the court of Harsha. Further information of much interest and importance is given by the official Chinese histories. "When all sources are utilized, our knowledge of the events of the reign of Harsha far surpasses in precision that which we possess respecting any other early Indian king, excepting Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka." (Smith).

2. The Rise of the Empire.

A. Prabhakara-Vardhana — From remote ages the country surrounding the city of Thaneswar has been holy ground, known as 'Land of Kuru,' and famous as the battle-field of legendary heroes. In the latter part of the sixth century, the Raja of Thaneswar, Prabhakara-Vardhana by name, had raised

himself to considerable eminence by successful wars against his neighbours—the Mallavas, the Huns in North-western Punjab, and the Gurjaras, now represented by the Gujarat and Gujaranwalla Districts. "The fact that his mother was a princess of Gupta lineage no doubt both stimulated his ambition and aided its realization." (*Smith*). In 604, his sons, Raja-Vardhana, the Crown Prince, and Harsha, four years junior, were sent against the Huns. Meanwhile, their father died and in spite of a court intrigue in favour of Harsha, the elder son succeeded.

B. **Raja-Vardhana**—War with the King of Malwa is the only recorded event of his short reign of a few months (605-606). Grahavarman Maukari, husband of his sister Rajyasri, king of Kanauj, was slain by the king of "Malava in Prayag," the princess, his sister, being confined with a pair of iron fetters at his feet. To avenge his sister's wrongs, Rajavardhana undertook the war and defeated the king of Malava. But in a conference with Sasanka, the vanquished king's ally and king of Central Bengal, the latter treacherously slew the victor when off his guard. He was then succeeded by his younger brother Harsha.

3. The Zenith of the Empire—Harsha (607—647).

A. **His Accession**—His accession is instructive as it throws some light on the principle of succession. His elder brother had an infant child, and overlooking the hereditary principle, the nobles *elected* Harsha as king. Smith says (p. 338) "For some reason, which is not apparent on the face of the story, he scrupled to express his consent, and it is said that he consulted a Buddhist oracle before accepting the invitation." The existence of two parties and consequent trouble might have caused this scruple in Harsha. His accession is also interesting, as it was the commencement of the *Era of Harsha*, of which the first year was A. D. 606-607. The formal coronation took place only in 612—a fact which points to a disputed succession.

B. **His Wars and Conquests**—Harsha engaged himself in several wars and conquests. His reign was one long military campaign. His first war was with King Sasanka of Central Bengal. The immediate task of Harsha was to recover

his widowed sister and to pursue Sasanka, the murderer of his brother. His sister had escaped from the confinement at Kanauj to the Vindhyan jungles, and was saved by the timely appearance of Harsha when she was on the point of burning herself alive with her attendants. Sasanka is known to have been still in power as late as 619, but his kingdom of Central Bengal probably became subject to Harsha. Then Harsha proceeded according to a methodical scheme to bring all India "under one umbrella." According to the account of Hiuen Tsang he possessed a huge army of elephants, cavalry and infantry. (Smith, *Oxford History* p. 165). Within six years he completed the conquest of Northern India, excluding the Punjab, including the greater part of Bengal. (Read Smith, *E. H. I.* p. 339). His next war was with the Chalukya king Pulakesin II, the lord paramount of the south, as Harsha was of the north; but it ended in his failure, and this is the only recorded failure of Harsha's arms. (620). The Narmada was forced to be recognised as the boundary of Harsha's Empire. His next war with the Valabhi ended in the defeat of the king Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhota) II, and the consequent subjugation of the small kingdoms of Anandapura, Cutch, and Soratha or Southern Kathiawar, all of which in 641 were reckoned to be dependencies of Western Malwa, formerly subject to Valabhi. The last recorded campaign of Harsha in 643 was directed against Ganjam on the coast of the Bay of Bengal.

C. His Empire--In the latter years of his reign his Empire extended over the whole of the basin of the Ganges including Nepal, from the Himalayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujarat and Surashtra. Even the distant king of Kamarupa (Assam) and his son-in-law, the king of Valabhi, were his vassals. (See the map of Smith in *E. H. I.*, p. 340; *Oxford History*, p. 166; Rangaswamy, p. 94).

D. His Domestic Policy--Hiuen Tsang, who is our main foreign source of information, arrived in Gandhara in October 630, and between that date and the close of 643 he visited almost every place in India, recording numberless exact observations on the country, monuments, people and religion. „It is impossible to overestimate the debt which the history of

India owes to Hiuen Tsang." (Smith). Kanauj was his capital. Hiuen Tsang was favourably impressed by the character of the civil administration, which he considered to be founded on benign principles. The principal source of revenue was the rent of the crown lands, amounting, "in theory at all events" (?), to one-sixth of the produce. The officials were remunerated by grants of land; compulsory labour upon public works was paid for. Taxes were light; the personal services exacted from the subjects were moderate, and liberal provision was made for charity to various religious communities. Violent crimes were rare, but roads and river routes were less safe than in Fa-hian's time, as Hiuen Tsang was stopped and robbed by brigands more than once. Imprisonment was now the ordinary penalty, and it was of the cruel Tibetan type—prisoners being simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. Official records of public events were kept in every province by special officers. Harsha was a great patron of learning. Education was evidently diffused widely, especially among the Brahmans and numerous Buddhist monks; and learning was honoured by the government. King Harsha was not only a liberal patron of literary merit, but was himself an accomplished calligraphist and an author of reputation of a grammatical work, of three extant Sanskrit plays, and of sundry compositions in verse. The greatest ornament of the literary circle at his court was the Brahman Bana. Benevolent institutions on Asokan models, for the benefit of travellers, the poor, and the sick, were established throughout the Empire. Numerous monasteries and stupas were erected. Although Buddhism was declining in the days of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang, the monks of the order were still numerous and counted nearly two hundred thousand. The members of the royal family acted on their individual preferences in the matter of religion. The elder brother and sister of Harsha were convinced Buddhists, while he himself distributed devotion among the three deities of the family—Siva, the Sun and Buddha, and erected costly temples for the service of all three. The religious eclectism of the royal family was the reflection and result of the state of popular religion at the time. (For religious disputations,

read Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 347). Two great assemblies were held at Kanauj and Prayag, attended by a large number of tributary princes, when Hiuen Tsang was introduced to them by Harsha.

E. Effects of Harsha's Death—In 646 or early in 647 Harsha died, leaving no heir. A Chinese war followed his death. A minister who had usurped the vacant throne attacked the Chinese envoy at Harsha's court, plundered his goods, and killed or captured the men of his escort. The envoy, however, escaped to Nepal, then a tributary to Tibet, whose king had married a Chinese princess. The Tibetan king sent a large expedition to the plains of India, stormed the chief city of Tirhut, defeated the Indian army with great slaughter, and captured the usurper and his family. The captive was sent to China, where he died. Tirhut remained subject to Tibet till A. D. 703. The withdrawal of his strong army threw the whole country into disorder, which was aggravated by famine. His empire sustained by himself, collapsed immediately after his death. The death of Harsha having loosened the bonds which had held the Empire together, the experiences of the third and sixth centuries were repeated, and a rearrangement of kingdoms was begun of which the record is obscure. It is impossible to say exactly what happened in most of the provinces for a considerable time after his disappearance from the scene. When the sun of Harsha set, the political horizon of India attained its normal condition of petty Indian States and their history "may perhaps serve to give the reader a notion of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again, if the hands of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn." (Smith, E. H. I., pp. 357—358). In this connection, the lesson of the Maurya empire (*ante*, p. 56) is noteworthy, and it helps one in shaping his conclusions regarding the destiny of India. "The partial unity of Indian history vanishes with Harsha and is not restored in any considerable measure until the closing years of the twelfth century, when the extensive conquests effected by and for Muhammad of Ghor brought the most important provinces under the sway of the Sultans of Delhi." (Smith, *Oxford History*, p. 170).

BOOK V

THE RAJPUT AGE (650—1200 A. D.)

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN AND ORGANISATION OF THE RAJPUTS

[*Imperial Gazetteer*, Ch. VIII, by J. Kennedy; Smith, *Early History of India*. p. 322; *Oxford History*, Bk. III, Ch. I; Rangaswamy, p. 108; Marsden, Ch. XXXII.]

1. Preliminary.

A. Divisions of the Period — The period of five centuries and a half between the third Hindu Empire and the first Muhammadan Empire may be conveniently divided into two periods—(1) When Harsha died the subject kings were left masterless, and Northern India lapsed into a state of feebleness or *anarchy* which lasted for three centuries. (650—950). (2) By the middle of the tenth century a number of stable states emerged, which were most flourishing when the Muhammadan invasion overwhelmed them, and this was a period of *reconstruction* (950-1200). The Rajputs and the Rajput period are compared to the Feudal Knights and Feudal period of European history. (*Imperial Gazetteer*).

B. Sources of Information—The materials for the first three centuries of the mediaeval period are extremely scanty, and we are forced to rely largely on tradition. We have an admirable metrical chronicle of Kashmir, the *Rajatarangini*, written in 1150 by the Brahman Kalhana; also a history of Gujarat, the work of a contemporary, the Jain monk Hemachandra; and the *Prithiraj Rasau*, in sixty-nine books, ascribed to the poet Chand, which narrates the history of the last and greatest of the Chauhan kings, is a composition of later date, though embodying many valuable traditions. From the tenth century, coins and inscriptions, the chief sources of accurate knowledge, become more abundant.

2. The Origin of the Rajputs.

A. A Difficult Question—The origin of the Rajputs is a difficult question to settle. There is a difference of opinion among scholars. There are two sets of authors with opposing views. Elphinstone denies foreign ancestry of the Rajputs while Todd, Smith, Kennedy and Rangaswamy are of opinion that Rajputs of Northern India are mostly of foreign extraction. The Rajputs, with the exception of the Jats, are held by Elphinstone as pure Indians, descended from the ancient Hindus.

B. The Correct View—There are three ethnic classes among the Rajputs—descendants of old Hindu ruling houses, Aryanized aborigines, and Hinduized foreigners. "During the troubled years preceeding and following the period of the supremacy of the first Gupta dynasty over Hindustan, many foreign races, like the Sakas, the Pahlavas [or Parthians], and the Huns, had found their way into India, had settled gradually in the country, and merged in the older native population becoming Hindus in religion and manners. A new race was thus formed by this admixture, in which the warlike qualities of the sturdy peoples of Central Asia were united to a devotion to and pride in the Hindu religion and traditions . . . The Hindu priests found in them the firmest upholders of Hinduism." This view of Mr. Rangaswamy Aiyengar is held also by Smith who closes his discussion with the following observation—"The foreigners universally yielded to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Further to the south, various indigenous, or 'aboriginal,' tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduized social promotion." (p. 322). "The main points to remember are that the Kshatriyas or Rajput group of castes is essentially an occupational group, composed of all clans following the Hindu ritual who actually undertook the work of government; that, consequently, people of most diverse races were and are lumped together as Rajputs; and that most of the great clans now in existence are descended either from foreign immigrants of the fifth or sixth century of the Christian Era, or from indigenous races such as the Gonds and Bhars." (p. 414). The new Chiefs and their followers called themselves Rajputs (Rajaputras, "Princes"), and

the history of Hindustan from the eighth century onward till the Muhammadan conquest is mainly the record of the unending feuds and rivalries, the constant and perplexing struggle for supremacy between these small but ambitious and warlike states. (Rangaswamy, p. 108).

3. The Principal Rajput Clans.

A. Classification of the Rajputs in Northern India—There seem to have been in the seventh and eighth centuries, five chief centres of Rajput clans in Northern India. Three of them were of the old Kshatriya race, a fourth was the Agni-Kula, and a fifth was made up of Hinduized Bhils and Gonds. These centres were—Oudh and Bihar, the seat of the Solar Rajputs; the Doab, between the Jumna and Ganges, the old Kuru-Panchala kingdom, the seat of the Lunar Rajputs; the Indus valley and the valley of the Chambal, including Malwa, the seat of the Yadavas; Western Rajputana, the country round Mount Abu, the seat of the Agni-Kulas, the Hinduized foreign tribes; the country lying to the north of the Vindhya mountains, now called Bundelkand and Baghelkand, the seat of the Hinduized Bhils and Gonds.

B. Names of the Rajput Clans—In *Northern* India, the clans most conspicuous are the Chauhans, Parihars, Tomaras, Pawars and Gurjaras. In the *South*, the principal clans are the Chandels, Kalachuris, Gaharwars, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas and Pahlavas.

4. The Organisation of the Rajputs.

A. Their Homogeneous Character—But whatsoever might be their origin, all these Rajput clans acquired a certain homogeneity by constant intermarriage and the adoption of common customs. They were all distinguished by their clan feeling, their implicit obedience to their Chief while claiming the equality of blood relations, their sense of communal property. They all refused to perform the manual work of an agriculturist. "It is this code of honour, these common customs, which made them homogeneous and unique." (Kennedy).

B. Military Organisation—The Rajputs were essentially a military clan in the original Hindu system. They were born soldiers. Each clan had its hereditary leader and each formed a separate community, the members of which were animated by a strong clanish feeling, being bound by many ties to their chiefs and to each other. They "developed those rare and noble traits—valour, fidelity, and generosity—which have given to the Rajputs the first place in the history of Indian *Chivalry*," (Rangaswamy).

C, Social Organisation—They occupied the position of the Kshatriya caste, and had a strong sense of communal relations: they looked upon a common ancestry in each clan. There were intermarriages between the clans. They married their daughters into a higher clan and took their wives from a lower one. The chiefs of various clans were only the first among their nobles, and they stood in the same relation to their paramount suzerain as their own retainers did to them. Thus the paramount sovereign nobility as well as the soldiery made one body united by the strongest feelings of kindred and military relationship. The Rajput organisation has been often compared to the Feudal system of Mediaeval Europe, in which, however, the idea of blood relationship was lacking: The Rajput cavalier, like the Feudal knight, held his lands from his liege lord, on condition of doing military service whenever called to do so. This sort of Feudal system gave additional stability to the Rajput attachment to his nation, and produced the pride of high birth, the high spirit, and the romantic notions so striking in the military class of that period. The chiefs were most senstive about their personal honour. They were quick to resent an insult. Their women often set a lofty example of courage and prepared the awful rite—the *johar*, the funeral pyre, perishing in the flames kindled with their own hands rather than fall into the hands of the victorious enemy.

D. Political Organisation—The genius of the Rajputs was better suited to maintain the independence of the chieftains' clans, than to found and govern an empire themselves. They were

almost entirely lacking in political insight and capacity for settled administration. They were unable to 'form a stable combination among their kingdoms or to submit to one central rule, chosen and appointed by themselves. Hence their family feuds and frequent wars made it impossible for them to offer an effectual resistence to the Muhammadan arms. The unceasing wars of this period become intelligible when they are regarded as being in large part a secular struggle between the foreign Rajputs of the north and the indigenous Rajputs of the south: as a general rule, the Rajputs formed by the social promotion of 'aborigines' were inimical to the Rajputs descended from 'barbarian' immigrants. (Smith, p. 414).

CHAPTER II.

RAJPUT KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA

[Smith, *Early History, of India*, Ch. XIV; *Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 311—318; Rangaswamy, pp. 108—116; Marsden, Ch, XXXII.]

I The following are the principal Rajput Kingdoms.

The period is one of confusion and of a multitude of Rajput kingdoms. The following are the principal ones, and the references for the history of each kingdom are given below. [S = Smith, *E. H. I.*; M = Marsden; R = Rangaswamy—the pages are marked].

1. History of Gujarat—R. 122—125; M. 234—237.
2. History of Delhi—S. 386—390; M. 222—225.
3. Histor of the Chandels and Kilachuris—S. pp. 390—394; M. 233—234.
4. History of Kanauj—S. 375—381; M. 225—228.
5. History of the Palas and Senas of Bengal—S. 397—407; M. 231—233.
6. History of Kashmir—S. 372—375; M. 237—240.
7. History of Malwa—S. 395—396; M. 229—230.
8. History of Ajmere—S. 386—387; M. 228—229.

II. The following are the principal Rajput Clans.

1. The Gurjaras.
2. The Pariharas.
3. The Chauhans.
4. The Chalukyas.
5. The Pramaras.
6. The Gehlots.
7. The Kachwahas.
8. The Tomars.
9. The Rathors.
10. The Chandels.
11. The Baghelas.
12. The Valabhis.
13. The Bundels.
14. The Kalachuris.

III Maps—Marsden, p. 215; Rangaswamy, p. 107.

CHAPTER III.

RAJPUT KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

[*Imperial Gazatteer* Vol. II, Ch. IX, by R. Sewell; Smith's *Early History of India*, Ch. VIII, pp. 206-213 and Ch XV; *Oxford History*, Bk. III, Ch, 3, Sec, 1; Rangaswamy, Ch. X, Sec, II; Marsden, Ch, XXXVI-XLI.]

1. Preliminary.

A. The Term "Deccan" or "Dakhan"—The word is derived from Sanskrit, *Dakshina*, meaning "South," and is used in two senses--sometimes the whole of India south of the Narmada; but it is usually understood to designate a more limited territory in which Malabar and the Tamil countries of the south are excluded. Thus limited, the term denotes the whole region occupied by Telingana and Maharashtra. Physically, the land is for the most part a dry, hilly table-land, traversed by two great rivers, the Godaveri and Krishna.

B. Features of the History of the Deccan—In the first place, the Deccan had an isolated existence, and has, as a rule, successfully resisted the political suzerainty of the North. Secondly, immunity from foreign relations produced conservatism in the Deccan with its own language, people and religion. (*Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 321–2). Thirdly, the Peninsular India is essentially the home of the "Dravidians." The political history

of early India must chiefly be confined to northern India, because Northern India was the seat of the great Indian Empires, and it was less isolated than the south and hence it was better known. The sociological history of early India, on the contrary, ought to be the history of the peninsular India, because the Dravidian 'civilisation was predominant in India before the Aryan civilisation. The Dravidian nations in the South were not inferior in culture to their rivals in the north, and abundant and interesting materials are available for information.

C. The Outline of the History of the Deccan—(1) The *Pre-Aryan* Period—Before the Aryans began to colonise the Deccan, it was purely Dravidian and was completely isolated. (2) The *Aryan* Colonisation—More or less from the close of the seventh to the close of the fourth century, a slow infiltration of the Aryans took place. (3) The *Mauryan* Age--The Deccan comes under the Mauryas during the reign of Bindusara. (4) With the break up of the Maurya Empire, the *Andhras* became the lords of the Deccan, and they even established their rule in North India about 27 B. C. Their history covers more than four centuries from 220 B. C. to 225 A. D. (5) The Ascendancy of the *Palhavas* from 226 A. D. to 500 A D. followed that of the Andhras. (6) Then the *Early Chalukyas* had their ascendancy during sixth and seventh centuries. (7) They were followed by the *Rashtrakutas* during the eighth and the ninth centuries. (8) The *Later Chalukyas* then became the supreme lords of the Deccan and remained independent till 1309 when Malik Kafur made them the subjects of the Sultanate of Delhi.

2. The History of the Andhras (220 B. C.—226 A. D.)

A. The Mauryan Period—The Andhras or Satavahanas were a Dravidian people who developed one of the greatest kingdoms in the Deccan, and have been a constant factor in Indian History. During the Mauryan Age, they rose to power. Our knowledge is derived from Megasthenes. The Andhra kingdom was situated along the eastern coast to the south of Kalinga. They were the lords paramount in the South as the Mauryas in the north. Megasthenes says that they had

thirty walled towns and a mighty army, consisting of 100,000 foot, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. Their first known capital was Srikakulam on the lower course of the Kistna, and later on it was Amarawati. It was an independent power till the reign of Bindusara. Asoka's edicts allude to the Kingdom as subject to the Maurya with a considerable amount of autonomy. After Asoka's death, the Andhras were one of the first to establish their independence under Simuka about 220 B. C. (Joppen's Map No. 2).

B. The Rise of the Andhras—Under *Simuka* the kingdom became independent of Magadha and began its independent growth. The next king was *Kanha* (Krishna). The capital became Nasik, a fact which indicates that the kingdom extended from the Western to the Eastern Ghats. The third and fourth kings styled themselves "Lords of the West." One important event in the reign of the third king is the help given to his ally, Kharevala of Kalinga to establish his independence.

C. The Zenith of the Andhra Power—In 27 B. C. the Andhras attacked Magadha, slew the last of the Kanva kings, and began the Andhra domination over Magadha. It is probable that a separate family was planted in Pataliputra, while another ruled in Nasik. *Vilivaya-kura II* (68 A. D.–135 A. D.), the twenty-third king as represented by the Puranas, had successful wars against the Sakas, Palhavas and Yavanas or the Indo-Greeks in Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar (i. e., the Western Satraps). One of the Western Satraps invaded the Andhra kingdom, but was defeated and slain with the result that the next Satrap paid tribute to the Andhras. *Pulumayi II* married the daughter of Rudradaman, the Western Satrap. In a subsequent war, the Satrap defeated Pulumayi in about 145 A. D., and Malwa, Sind, the Cutch and the Konkan passed to the Western Satraps. (Joppen's Map No. 3). The capital was changed to Paithan on the Godaveri. *Yajna-Sri* (184—213 A. D.) was the most important of the later Andhras. He recovered some of the provinces of the Western Satraps as shown by his coins. After his death, we see the fall of the Andhra kingdom, due probably to the rise of the Palhavas.

D. State of the Country under the Andhras—From the inscriptions of the Andhra kings we come to know something of the condition of the country. Brahmanism and Buddhism flourished side by side without open hostility, but towards the end of the period, Hinduism began to supersede Buddhism. The roads were well kept and travelling was safe. Trade and industries flourished under the guild system. The rate of interest ranged from 5 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Bhroach and Bassein were busy seaports. Other cities of importance were Prathishana and Kalyana which were great inland cities and centres of trade. Towns had their own governing bodies, called Nigama-Sabha.

3. The History of the Palhavas (226–500 A. D.).

A. Introduction—The Palhavas were a powerful line of kings who in the third century A. D. succeeded the Andhras throughout the Telugu country on the east and in the centre of the Deccan. The Palhavas or Pallavas were one of the Parthian tribes which settled in North-Western and Western India. They are mentioned in the Puranas along with the Sakas and Yavanas. They probably came into the Deccan during the second century A. D. from the west along the valleys of the Narmada and Tapti. There is no written history of the Palhavas. The very name Palhava was unknown to history till it was brought to light a few years ago by inscriptions, from which we get all we know of them. There seems to have been *three* lines of Palhava kings, all no doubt related, for they bear the common family name, Varma. The first branch ruled in *Vaṭapi* or Badami in the west of the Deccan, from 300 to 500 A. D., when the Chalukyas drove them out; the second in *Vengi*, near Ellore, in the east of the Deccan, till about 615 A. D.; and the third, called the Southern Palhavas, at *Kanchi* (Conjeevaram), south of Madras for about 440 years (300—740) when their place was taken by the Cholas.

B. The Ascendancy of the Southern Palhava Kingdom—Vishnugopa Varma was reigning at Kanchi when Samudragupta invaded the south in A. D. 340. His inscription on the Asoka pillar mentions three Palhava kings, Vishnugopa of

Kanchi, Hastivarma of Vengi, and Ugrasena of Palakka. Mahendra Varma I who reigned about 600 A. D., is known by his many rock-temples in the Arcot, Chingleput and Trichinopoly districts. Some of them are on the well known Mahabalipura temples or "Seven Pagodas," the oldest known temples in Southern India, built about the sixth century A. D. Mahendra fought in 610 with the Great Chalukya Emperor, Pulikesin II, who putting an end to the Palhava line in Vengi, invaded Kanchi. Pulakesin says in an incription that he defeated Mahendra, while Mahendra says in another that he defeated Pulakesin. The latter statement seems to be the truth, as a later Chalukya king says the Palhavas had never been defeated before his time (?). (A synchronism). Narasimha Varma I (625—645), son of Mahendra, was the strongest and most famous of all the Palhava Rajas. He too was attacked by Pulakesin II, in 642, but he inflicted upon him a crushing defeat, killed him and took his chief city, Vatapi, which he seems to have held for several years. He thus became the most powerful Rajah in the South of India. It was in his time that Huien Tsang visited Kanchi in 640. (Read Marsden, p. 252). This is one of the important synchronisms which have helped the determination of the Palhava chronology.

C. The Decline of the Southern Palhava Kingdom— Under the later Palhava kings, the kingdom steadily declined until the Eastern Chalukyas established their ascendancy after a long rivalry between the Palhavas and the Chalukyas. *Parameswara Varma* succeed his father Narasimha. For fourteen years after the defeat of Pulakesin, the Chalukyas paid tribute to the Palhavas, but in 655 Vikramaditya Chalukya, the son of Pulakesin, revolted against the Palhavas and is said to have humbled the Palhava king, He kept Kanchi for a short time and then returned to his own capital Vengi. The conflict between the two kingdoms went on for generations and thus the Palhavas were weakened. The war continued under *Nandi-Varma* who came to the throne in 720. Vikramaditya Chalukya decisively defeated him, and took Kanchi but did not do any harm to that famous city. He gave large presents of gold to the temples and returned. The power of Kanchi declined and the kings of the same family

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went on reigning for about 200 years longer over a much smaller kingdom. The last was overthrown by the Chola king, Aditya, in 900 A. D. However, petty Palhava chiefs ruled in various parts of the country under the Cholas down to about 1,200 A. D.

4. The History of the Western Chalukyas (550-754).

A. **Introdution**—The Chalukyas or Solankis were Agni-kula Rjaputs, probably of the great Gurjara family. They, however, claimed to be of the Lunar line of the Rajputs. Their family god was Vishnu, and their crest was a boar. Their religion was Brahmanism, but they did not oppress the Jains or the Buddhists. Buddhism, however, gradually passed away as the Brahmins rose in power. There were several lines of these kings; the principal ones were the Western Chalukyas of *Badami* who were rulers of the Deccan in the seventh and eighth centuries, and were then overwhelmed by the Rastrakutas; the Eastern Chalukyas of *Vengi*, an offshoot of the Western Cbalukyas, who ruled in the east of the Deccan from the seventh to eleventh century, when they were overwhelmed by the Cholas; and the Later Chalukyas of *Kalyani* who rose to power in the tenth century and ruled in the Deccan till the twelfth century, when they disappear from view.

B. **The Ascendancy of the Western Chalukyas.**—Pulakesin I who began to rule in about 550 A. D. was a great king who performed the Aswamedha secrifice in order to show his great power. He is styled a 'Maharajah' and is regarded as the real founder of the dynasty. He overthrew the Palhava kings, who had been reigning at Vatapi, and made it his capital. All the princes of his family had the name Valabha, which seems to show that they were an offshoot of the Valabhi line of Chalukyas of Gujarat. Kirtivarman I succeeded and reigned gloriously for 24 years (567—591). He overthrew the ancient Kadamba line of kings in Banavasi, and after this the Kadambas ruled as governors under the Chalukya. He also overcame the branch of the Mauryan line of Magadha, ruling in the Konkan, which he included in the Chalukyan kingdom. Pulakesin II ("the tiger-haired") (608—642) was the most famous king of the

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line, and may well be styled an emperor, for he held and controlled the whole of the Deccan. (Marsden's, Map p. 183). He was "Lord of the South" as Harsha his contemporary was "Lord of the North". He put down the revolted Rashtrakutas, Kadambas and Mauryan line of Konkan and forced them to pay tribute to him as their overlord. The Gangas, the earliest known rulers of Orissa and Mysore (100—1000 A. D.), were also subdued. He seems to have repelled an attack on the Chalukyas by the kings of Malawa and Gujarat. After becoming Master of Western Deccan, he marched eastwards and forced the Chedi Rajah of South Kosala and the Ganga Rajah of Kalinga to pay tribute to him. He next fell upon the Palhava kingdom of Vengi which he reduced to subjection and appointed his younger brother Vishnuvardhana, Viceroy of the Vengi country. And from 632 the latter ruled as an independeet king and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty of Vengi. Of greater importance is his successful war with Emperor Harsha. He strengthened the northern frontier of his kingdom to ward off future invasions from the north. Then he marched south and is said to have defeated Mahendravarma of Vengi as seen before. He then crossed the Cavery to attack the rulers of the Pandyan, Chera and Chola kingdoms. He did not fight with them but made them his allies. Khusru II, King of Persia, and Pulakesin exchanged embassies. In 641 Huen Tsang visited his court at Nasik, and says he was profoundly impressed with his military power. Pulakesin seems to have administered his vast empire to the satisfaction of his subjects, and was a great patron of arts and letters as seen from the Ajanta paintings.

C. The Decline of the Western Chalukyas—The reign of Pulakesin ended in darkness with his defeat by the great Pallava king, Narasimha-Varman of Kanchi in 642. But the Pallava hold upon the Deccan was short-lived as seen before. Vikramaditya, a son of Pulakesin, defeated the king of Kanchi and thus avenged the defeat and death of his father, about 655 A. D. The next three kings of the Western Chalukyas ruled for about seventy years and all through these reigns the wars with the Pallavas went on, sometimes the Chalukyas were victorious and

sometimes the Pallavas. Kirtivarman II was the last king of the line, and he was defeated by Danti-durga, king of the Rashtrakutas, and with his death the Western Chalukyan power ended.

5. The History of the Eastern Chalukyas (615—1127).

A. Introduction—The Eastern Chalukyas are called, in all records, the "Lords of Vengi." The land of Vengi was, at first, the strip of country lying between the Eastern Ghats and the sea, from the river Godavari on the North to the Kristna on the south. The old Hindu name was the "Andhra country". To the north lay the country of the Kalingas; to the south, the Pallavas of Kanchi; to the west, at first the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi, and later the Rastrakutas of Malkhed, and then the Western Chalukyas of Kalyan. Its first capital was Vengi, and later Rajhmandry.

B. The Period of Independent Growth—The founder of the dynasty was Vishnu Vardhana I. In 615 he was appointed Viceroy of Vengi by his father Pulakesin II, and later on he established the independence of the kingdom. The eleventh king Vijayaditya II (800—843) was a valiant monarch. An inscription says that he fought 108 battles with the Gangas and Rashtrakutas and built 108 temples to Siva, one after each victory. The next great ruler was Raja Mahendra (Amma I) (918—925). He transferred the capital from Vengi to Rajahmandry—the city called after Raja Mahendra.

C. The Period of Assimilation with the Cholas—The twenty-sixth king, Vimaladitya (1015), married a Choda or Chola princess the daughter of Raja Raja Chola. The next king also married a Chola princess, and an inscription of his gives the names of his ancestors and the signs of Eastern Chalukya royalty. (See Marsden p. 264). The twenty-eighth king, Choda-deva I (1063—1112) was more of a Chola than a Chalukya because of the continual intermarriages with Chola princesses. He too married a Chola princess, and seems to have taken the Chola crown by conquest. Thus he became king of the Cholas as well and it is said that he was "anointed to the kingship of the Chodas." The last two kings, 29th and 30th, reigned over the Chola kingdom, Vengi being ruled by their relations as Viceroys.

6. The History of the Rashtrakutas (753—973).

A. **Introduction**—From the earliest times tribes called Rashtras or Rastikas, or in Prakrit, Ratthas, inhabited the north of the Deccan. They were apparently "indigenous." (Smith). The Aryans who descended into the Deccan mingled with the natives and thus formed the Ratthas. The most powerful of their families called themselves Maha-Ratthas, their country was called Maha-Rashtra, and their language Maha-rashtri (Mahrattas and Mahratti). Later on, some of the ruling families formed themselves into *Kutas* or groups ruled by chiefs, and thus they were called Rashtrakutas. The first mention of them is about 250 B. C. in Asoka's inscription. Their overlords were at first the Andhras and then the Western Kshatrapas, and when the latter were conquered by the Guptas, the Rashtrakuta chiefs became independent once more. Then they came under the Chalukyas.

B. **The Period of Ascendancy**—Dantidurga (753–760). In the middle of the eighth century, when the Chalukyas had been weakened by wars with the Palhavas, a Rashtrakuta, chief, Dantidurga, overthrew Kirtivarma II Chalukya, and made himself master of Maharashtra, for the chiefs of his own people all joined him. "The main branch of the Chalukyas became extinct, and the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rastrakutas, in whose hands it remained for nearly two centuries and a quarter." (Smith). The line of kings thus founded was known as the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, their capital city. We have the names of twelve Rashtrakuta kings who were "Lords of the Deccan" (753—973). Dantidurga, after his defeat of the Chalukyas and the occupation of Vatapi, effected other conquests; but, being unpupular because of his bad rule, he was deposed by his uncle Krishna. Krishna I (760—775) strengthened and enlarged the kingdom, and "completed the establishment of Rashtrakuta supremacy over the dominions formerly held by the Chalukyas." His reign is memorable for the execution of "the most marvellous architectural freak in India, the Kailas monolithic temple at Ellura, now in the Nizam's dominions, which is by

far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines." (Smith). Dhruva "the firm," (780—783) an able and warlike prince, continued with success the aggressive wars of the dynasty. He defeated the king of the Gangas of Mysore, of the Palhavas of Kanchi, the Gurjara king, Vatsaraja, to the north of the Vindhyas, and the king of the Kosalas. "These wars must have been mere raids for plunder, like those of the Mahrattas in after times, as we never hear that the Rashtrakuta king ever ruled any part of country north of the Narbada." (Marsden). *Govind III* (793—815) may justly claim to be the most remarkable prince of this vigorous dynasty. He was the greatest king of his time. He extended his power from the Vindhya mountains and Malwa on the north to Kanchi on the south; while his direct rule was carried at least as far as the Tungabhandra. He made his brother Indraraja Viceroy of Lata, or Southern Gujarat. Amoghavarsha (815—877) who occupied the throne for not less than sixty-two years, spent his long reign in constant wars with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. He transferred his capital from Nasik to Manyakheta, the Mankir of the Arab writers, now Malkhed, in the Nizam's dominions. Govinda and Amoghavarsha both showed great favour and kindness to the Jains, especially the Digambara or the naked. The rapid rise of Jainism under the patronage of various notable kings and under the guidance of several leaders, like Jinasena and Gunabhadra, explain the decay of Buddhism. The brief reign of Indra III (914—916) is signalized by his successful attack upon distant Kanauj, and the consequent temporary dethronement of Mahipala, king of Panchala, the most considerable prince in Northern India. Krishna III (940—961) undertook a war with the Cholas which resulted in the death of the Chola king in 949. "Much bitterness was introduced into the wars of this period by the hostility between the rival religions, Jainism and orthodox Hinduism." (Smith).

C. **The End of the Dynasty**—The last of the Rashtrakuta kings was Kakka or Kakkala (972-73), who was overthrown by Taila or Tailappa, a Chalukyan prince, who established

the Later Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani in 973 A. D. Thus the lordship of the Deccan, which had been wrested by the Rashtrakuas from the Eastern Chalukyas, and held by them for about 225 years, was again taken by another branch of the Chalukyan family, known as the Later Chalukyas of Kalyani. Although the Rashtrakutas no longer reigned in Malkhed as lords of the Deccan, various chiefs of the same race ruled over small tracts of country in the Mahratta and Kanara countries for centuries afterwards.

7. The History of The Later Chalukyas (973—1190).

A. The Period of Ascendancy—Tailappa I (973—997), the first king of this Chalukya line, married a daughter of Kakkala, the last of the Rashtrakuta kings. His kingdom included the soutth-western part of the Deccan and the north of Mysore. He was overlord of the Konkan as well. Thus he was the lord of the country where Kanarese was spoken, then known as the Kingdom of Kuntala. He invaded Malwa sixteen times. In the last war Munja, the Pramara king of Malwa, was defeated snd slain. His successors, Satyasraya and Someswara I, had continuous wars with the Chola kingdom. During the reign of the former the Chalukya kingdom sufferred severely from invasion by the Chola king, Rajaraja the Great while during the reign of Someswara, in 1052, at the battle of Koppam on the Tungabhadra, the Chola king Rajadhiraja lost his wife. He also claims the honour of having stormed both Dhara in Malwa and Kanchi in the south, and of having defeated Karna, the valiant king of Chedi. He put an end to his sufferings by an incurable fever by drowning in the Tungabhadra. (Smith, p. 431). Vikramaditya VI or Vikramanka, the hero of Bilhana's historical poem, deposed his brother Someswara II and ascended the throne in 1076 and reigned for half a century in tolerable, though not unbroken, peace. (1076—1125). He is recorded to have captured Kanchi, and late in his reign was engaged in a serious struggle with Vishnu, the Hoysala king of Dwarasamudra in Mysore. He established a new era, the Vikramanka Era, commencing in 1076 A. D., but

it did not come in general use. His capital Kalyani was the residence of the celebrated jurist Vijnaneswara, author of Mitakshara, the chief authority on Hindu Law outside of Bengal.

B. The Period of Decline—After the death of Vikramanka, the Chalukya power declined. In the course of 1156—62, during the reign of Taila III, the commander-in-chief, Bijjala or Vijjana Kalachurya revolted and obtained possession of the kingdom which was held by him and his sons till 1183, when the Chalukya prince, Someswara IV, succeeded in recovering a portion of his ancestral dominions. But he was not strong enough to resist the attacks of his encroaching neighbours. In the course of a few years the greater part of his kingdom had been absorbed by the Yadavas of Devagiri on the west, and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra on the south. The end of the Chalukya line of Kalyani may be dated 1190, after which date the Rajas of the dynasty ranked merely as petty chiefs under other suzerain powers.

8. The History of the Hoysala kingdom (1000–1310).

A. The Rise of the Dynasty—During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, chiefs belonging to a family or clan named Hoysala, or Poysala, attained considerable power in the Mysore country. There is an interesting legend connected with the origin of their power. (Read Marsden, p. 280). The first notable independent prince was Bittideva or Bittiga (1111—1141) who established his capital at Dwarasamudra, the modern Halebid. During the early years of his reign Jainism was protected and he restored the temples destroyed by the Chola invaders. But he was converted to Vishnuism, under the influence of the celebrated reformer, Ramanuja, and adopted his more popular name of Vishnu-Vardhana. In his records of conquests, he claims to have defeated the rajas of the Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms in the South. About the year 1223, one of his successors, Narasimha II, who was then in alliance with the Cholas, actually occupied Trichinopoly. Vishnu's grandson, Vira-Ballala, in the course of a long reign, extended his kingdom widely to the north of Mysore, and was

specially proud of having defeated the Yadavas of Devagiri, whose kingdom lay to the north. His conquests made the Hoysalas the dominant power in Southern India, including the southern parts of the Deccan plateau.

B. The End of the Dynasty—The dynasty continued to be powerful until 1310 when the Muhammadan general Malik Kafur, entered the kingdom, laid it waste, captured the reigning raja, and despoiled the capital. In 1326 or 1327 the capital was destroyed by a Muslim force. The raja's son is mentioned as a local chief in records a few years later.

9. The History of the Yadava Dynasty (1187—1312).

A. The Rise of the Dynasty—The Devagiri Yadavas, like the Rashtrakutas, held sway in the north of Deccan from very early times in the country around the sources of the Godaveri, known as Sennadesh, afterwards Khandesh. Their capital was Senna, now Sinnar, in the Nasik district. The first of the Yadava line to attain a position of importance was Billama (1187-1191), who was killed in battle by the Hoysala Chief in 1191. The most powerful raja was Singhana (1210-1247) who established his power over the whole of the old Chalukya kingdom and fixed his capital at Devagiri (Daulatabad).

B. The End of the Dynasty—The sixth and last king, Ramachandra (1271—1310) was forced to surrender to Allaudin Khilji in 1294, and to ransom his life by paying the enormous amount of treasure—600 maunds of pearls, and 2 maunds of diamonds, rubies, emaralds, and sapphires. Again, Malik Kafur invaded the kingdom in 1309 and he submitted to the invader. "He was the last independent Hindu sovereign of the Deccan." (Smith.) In wide territories to the south of the Krishna, the kingdom of Vijayanagar, founded in A. D. 1336, maintained the traditions of Hindu polity in unsurpassed splendour until 1565, when it was overwhelmed by a coalition of Mahammadan princes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF SOUTHERN INDIA

[Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, Ch. XVI; *Oxford History*, Bk. III, Ch. III Sec. 2; Rangaswamy, Ch. X, Sec III; *Journal of South Indian Association*, Vol. I No. I, "*The Cholas*" by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; *Imperial Gazetteer*, Ch. IX; *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago*, by Kanakasabhai Pallai; Mukherji's *Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*.]

1. Preliminary.

A. The Ancient Tamilagam—The expression "South India" denotes the territory, south of the Krishna, which was known as *Tamilagam* or *Demirike*, comprising the three ancient Tamil kingdoms of the Pandyas, the Cheras and the Cholas. The special feature of South Indian history is its isolated and independent growth. It has a district race, civilisation, language, customs and manners.

B. Source of Information—The sources of South Indian history prior to the ninth century A. D. are far scantier than those of North Indian history. Among the *foreign* sources may be mentioned the Greek and Roman writers—Megasthenes, Strabo, Pliny, "the Periplus of the Erythrean sea," and Cosmos Indicopluestes, and among the *Indian* sources the principal ones are the references in Sanskrit literature and Tamil poems. The eighteen Puranas pay very little attention to South Indian History. The ancient Tamil poems which contain a good deal of historical tradition, are a really fruitful source of information; but the study of the ancieut Tamil literature is as yet incomplete. The *epigraphic* sources are chiefly south Indian inscriptions, mostly after the 7th century A. D. The south Indian inscriptions, though more numerous than thc North Indian, are less valuable. The North Indian inscriptions which allude to South India are chiefly those of Asoka and Samudragupta. *Numismatic* sources consist in the large number of Pandyan, Chera and Chola coins, which are being studied by several South Indian numismatists. Due to the present imperfect stage in the study of all these sources, a complete narrative of South Indian history has not yet been made possible.

2. The Three Anciant Kingdoms of Tamilagam.

A. The Condition of South India—Many hundreds of years ago, long before the Aryans enterd India, south India was in the occupation of the gifted Dravidians. Even in those remote ages they were not behind the Aryans in culture. Protected by their position near the extremity of the peninsula, they were from the beginning able to maintain their languages, customs, and manners, unmodified to any great extent by the influence of the Aryans of the north. In spite of all racial admixture of ages, Dravidian features are still recognizable in the appearance of many of the inhabitants of South India. Though the Rattas and the Andhras of the Deccan were tribes of Dravidian extraction, speaking Telugu (Andrabhasha), yet the people speaking Tamil were the most typical members of the Dravidian race.

B. The Three Kingdoms—There were three chief historical powers of South India—the Pandyas of the extreme south, the Cheras of the Malabar coast, and the Cholas, who ruled over the tract watered by the Kaveri river. All the available sources of information confirm the Indian traditions, which ascribe to the three kingdoms a very high antiquity. South Indian scholars go so far as to credit one of these--the Chera kingdom, to have contributed supplies to the two rival hosts in the great "Mahabarata War." (*Vide*, *Tamil Antiquary*, Vol. I. No. 1, pp. 56—48).

C. South Indian Commercial and Colonial Activities—Very early in history the Dravidians of South India developed into a great sea-trading people. Evidences discovered by scholars point to the conclusion that the Dravidians had a great share in the trade of Babylon with China. (Rangaswamy, 138). Mukherji has conclusively proved that the Dravidians had commercial colonies in distant Java and Babylon. The Semetic alphabet of Mesopotamia, from which many of the Indian letters are descended, is also held to have been introduced into India by Dravidian merchants visiting Babylon. The importance of this foreign contact of South India is evidenced by the large number of South Indian cities described by Kanakasabhai in Chapter III—"Foreign Trade" and Chapter II—"Geography of Tamilakam."

D. The Political Condition—The three kingdoms were ever contending with one another for supermacy over the Tamil country. They had wars with the Singhalese kings of Ceylon. In consequence of these wars the boundaries of the kingdoms were constantly shifting. "The rapid conquest of the Chola and Chera provinces by the northern invaders, the Pallavas, about the beginning of the present era, was itself partly due to this constant war and the inability of southern kingdoms to unite against the common foe." (Rangaswamy).

3. The Outline History of the Three Kingdoms.

A. The Pandyan Kingdom—The Pandyan kingdom, as defined by tradition, extended north and south from the Southern Vellaru river to Cape Comorin, and east and west from the Coromandel coast to the 'great highway,' the Achchankovil Pass leading into Southern Kerala or Travancore; and thus was nearly co-extensive with the existing Districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. At times it included the southern part of Travancore. Originally the kingdom was divided into five principalities, the chiefs of which were known as the "five Pandyas." The capital of the kingdom was at Madura in Pliny's time. The *Early* Pandyas—The Pandyas were known to Sanskrit grammarian Katyayana, whose date probably is not later than the fourth century B. C. In the same century Megasthenes alludes to it as the Kingdom of a Woman, which way be interpreted to mean the survival of the ancient Matriarchal system. We hear of a mission sent by "King Pandian" to Augustus Caesar in 20 B. C., as well as of regular intercourse between Rome and the Pandyan kingdom. The most remarkable feature of the state in those times was the maintenance at Madura of a flourishing literary academy or Sangam, the members of which produced much literature of the highest quality, and this was the "Augustan Age of Tamil Literature," to which belongs the *Kural* and the *Shilapathikaram*. In the days of Huen Tsang the Pandyan king was probably a tributary of the powerful Pallava king of Kanchi, Buddhism was almost extinct and Hinduism and Jainism were in a flourishing state, and the people were wholly immersed in commercial pursuits,

especially the pearl trade. From the beginning of the tenth century the Pandyan kings acknowledged the over-growing power of the Cholas. There were frequent Wars between the Pandya kings and the rulers of Ceylon. (Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 455). The *Later* Pandyas—During the long period between 1100 and 1567, according to Prof. Kielhorn, there were seventeen kings, most of whom were merely local chiefs of slight importance. The most important of these was Jatavarman Sundara I who reigned from 1251 to 1271, and made himself master of the whole eastern coast from Nellore to Cape Comorin. The partial Muhammadan conquest effected by Malik Kafur and other leaders in 1310 and in the subsequent years, did not destroy the local dynasties although it marks a change in the political condition of South India.

B. The Chera or Kerala Kingdom–The Chera kingdom was equivalent to the southern Konkans or Malabar coast, comprising the present Malabar District, Cochin and Travancore. In later times the kingdom included the Kongu country, the modern Coimbatore District with the southern part of Salem. The boundaries of the three kingdoms varied from time to time. The ancient capital was Vanji or Karur, now represented by the deserted village of Tiru-Karur, high up the Periyar, and Tiruvanjikulam, near the mouth of the Periyar, was a later capital. The kingdom was divided into five districts of *Nadus*. (Smith, *E. H. I.* p. 456). The earliest reference is that made in Asoka's edicts as "Keralaputra," and the later are in Pliny and the Periplus, in the first century A. D. The ancient Greek and Roman authors record interesting accounts of the extent and methods of commerce. At the beginning of the twelfth century Travancore or south Kerala, formed part of the Chola Empire of Rajendra Chola-Kulotunga, and to all appearance was well governed. "The details of the working of the ancient village associations or assemblies are especially interesting, and prove that the government was by no means a mere centralized autocracy. The village assemblies possessed considerable administrative and judicial powers, exercised under the supervision of the Crown officials." (Smith).

C. The Chola Kingdom—According to tradition, the Chola country (Cholamandalam) was bounded on the north by the Vennar, and on the south by the southern Vellaru river, or in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, and on the west to the borders of Coorg. First Period (down to 900 A. D.)—Though unknown to Panini, the kingdom was known to Katyayana, and recognized by Asoka as independent. In the Mauryan Age, its northern boundary was the Pennar river. During this early period, ancient Tamil literature and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries A. D. the ports on the Coromandel or Chola coast enjoyed an active commerce with both West and East. (See Mookerji's *Indian Shipping*). The first historical king was Karikala who invaded Ceylon and brought thousands of coolies to work on the embankments of the Kaveri river. He founded Kaviripadinam, transferring his capital from Uraiyur to the new port. His reign was during the second century A. D., and was very prosperous. He had a successful war against the Pandyas and the Cheras. He seems to have had diplomatic relations with Magadha and Avanti. His grandson Nedumudi Killi, succeeded him. In his reign Kaviripadinam was destroyed by the sea, which was a blow to the property of the kingdom. Second Period (900-985)—Parantaka I (907-949 A. D.) was an ambitious prince, who overthrew the Pallava supremacy, captured the Pandyan capital, Madura, and invaded Ceylon. His capital was Uraiyur. Third Period (985-1118)—The kings of this period, seven in number, were called the Great Cholas. The first and greatest was *Rajaraja-Deva the Great*, who, in the course of a busy reign of about 28 years (985—1013) made the Cholas the leading power in the south. The first seven years of his reign were given to the maturing of his plan and consolidation of the kingdom. His first war ended in the destruction of the Chera fleet. In the fourteenth year his acquisitions on the mainland comprised the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi, Coorg, the Pandya country and extensive regions on the table-land of Deccan. During the next three years, Quilon (Kollam) and Kalinga were added. In the twentieth year, after a protracted war, Ceylon was occupied,

With his powerful navy, he acquired a large number of unspecified islands, meaning, perhaps, the Laccadives and the Maldives. The magnificent temple at his capital Tanjore (Tanjuvur) built by his command, with the inscriptions telling the story of his victories, stands to this day as a memorial of Rajaraja's brilliant career. Though a worshipper of Siva, he endowed a Burmese Buddhist temple at Negapatam. (Smith, p. 466). (2) He was succeeded by his son Rajendra-Choladeva I (1013—1035), surnamed Gangai-Konda, who continued his father's ambitious career with added vigour and even more conspicuous success. His fleet crossed the Bay of Bengal and captured Kadaram, the ancient capital of the kingdom of Prome or Pegu, and also the seaports of Takkolam and Martaban on the same coast. The conquest of Pegu was followed by the annexation of the Nicobar and Andaman islands. He came into collision with Mahipala, king of Bihar and Bengal, and brought his army to the banks of the Ganges, and hence called Gangikonda. He built a new capital city, called Gangai-konda-Cholapuram. For the irrigation of a large area he constructed a vast artificial lake, with an embankment 16 miles long. He adorned the city with a magnificent palace and a gigantic temple. The Pandyan dominions continued to be subject to the Chola domination during the reign of Rajendra, and were administered by his son as Viceroy, with the title of Chola-Pandya. (3) He was succeeded by his eldest son, Rajadhiraja, who continued the never-ending fight with all the neighbouring powers. He fell in the fierce struggle with the Chalukya army at the battle of Koppam in 1052 or 53, which determined that the Tungabhadra river should be the frontier between the Chola and Chalukya empires. (4) Under Rajendra II the Chalukyas were defeated, thereby retrieving the fortunes of the Cholas. (5) In the reign of Virarajendra the Chalukyas were defeated by him at the junction of the Tungabhadra and Krishna rivers, and he gave his daughter in marriage to the Chalukya King Vikramaditya. (6) The defeat of Virarajendra was followed by a disputed succession and civil war. With the help of the Chalukya king, his brother-in-law, Adhirajendra

came to the throne, but being unpopular he was assassinated in 1074. During his reign lived Ramanuja, the mos venerated teacher of Vaishnavism in the south, who resided at Srirangam. (7) Rajendra III called Kulottunga Chola I (1070—1118) combined the Chalukya and Chola lines, as his mother was a daughter of the famous Gangai-konda Chola, and thus began the Chalukya-Chola dynasty. "The internal administration was distinguished by the execution of an elaborate revision of the revenue survey in A. D. 1086, the year of the survey for Domesday Book." (Smith). Fourth Period (1118—1287)—*The Decline of the Chola power*—The decline of the Chola Empire set in during the last days of Kulottunga I. In 1117 Bittideva (A. D. 1100—1141), better known by his later name of Vishnuvardhana, the Hoysala prince of Dwarasamudra, drove the Chola Governors from the Ganga territory. Kulottunga III (1287—1327) was the last Chola king of any importance. After him the succession was disputed and the Chola princes sank into a position of insignificance. For a time the Pandyas in the south asserted themselves and gained the upper hand, until 1310, when the power of all the Hindu states in Southern India was broken by the successes of Malik Kafur's Muhammadan army in that year and following years. The rapid development of the Vijayanagar kingdom during the fourteenth century again restored Hindu authority in the Peninsula. The extreme south passed under the rule of Vijayanagar about A. D. 1370. (The history of this political transition will be narrated later on in Part II, Book IV, Ch. II).

4. The Chola Administrative System.

A. Civil Administration—The inscriptions of the period throw much light on the government of the Chola princes. The Central Government—"From these it appears that the Chola sovereign not merely reigned, but ruled. Whether in camp or in the capital, the affairs of the state received his personal attention, and his oral orders were recorded by secretaries, and communicated to the provincial Governors." (Rangaswamy). "Whatever was the order, it had to be approved of by the

Chief Secretary (Olainayakam) and by another high Dignitary (Perundaram) Irayiravan Pallavaiyan in the days of Rajaraja and his son." (Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Journal*, p. 104). The Local Government—The unit of administration was the village community, composed either of a single village, oftener, of a group of villages, called 'Kurram.' Each of these sub-divisions had an assembly of its own, called the 'Mahasabha.' "This assembly, though subject to supervision by the divisional officers or intendants (Adhikarins), exercised an almost sovereign authority in all the departments of rural administration." (*Journal*, p. 88). The Divisions of the Empire—A number of rural units constituted a district (or *nadu*) and a number of these again formed a *Kottam*. There were eight such divisions in the Chola country proper. A number of these divisions went to make a province (or *mandalam*) which had orginally been an independent kingdom gradually absorbed into the rising empire of the Cholas. Each province was under a Viceroy, who was either a scion of the dispossessed royal families or a prince of the royal blood. The whole Empire of the Cholas, except the Vengi country, was divided into six provinces, each had, at least, two alternative names. (*Journal* p. 102.)

B. **Financial Administration**—The chief source of the State's revenue was the tax on land, which was usually one-sixth of the gross produce. The other sources were profession dues, duties on commerce, tools, the salt-tax, water-cesses, and fines. Taxes were paid in gold or in kind. The lands under cultivation were carefully surveyed and holdings registered at least a century before the famous Domesday record of William the Conqueror. The inscriptions of Rajaraja referring occaisonlly to the "book" show that the survey was correct to $\frac{1}{50,000}$ of a square inch. Two such surveys are on record—one of which took place before the accession of Raja Raja (*i. e.*, A. D. 958) and the other in 1086 in the reign of Kulottunga I. Large sums were spent in making and maintaining roads and irrigation works—channels, bridges, and dams. Tolls were considered a great hardship, and Kulottunga I won much popularity by wisely sanctioning their abolition throughout his Empire. (Rangaswamy).

C. Judical Administration—In the administration of justice the village assembly exercised great power. We have a few inscriptions in which such exercise of power is clearly on record. The punishment depended usually upon the merits of the case. "It is not out of place here to remark that the jury system which is believed to be a special birthright of Englishman and spoken of generally as unkown in India, is found to have been in full swing." (Read the *Journal*, pp. 95—96).

D. Military Administration—The Cholas maintained a standing army and an efficient navy. The army was divided into sections according to the kind of arms they carried and according as they were mounted or otherwise, we find references to the 'chosen body of archers,' the 'chosen foot soldiers of the body-gured,' the chosen horsemen and the chosen infantry of the 'right hand.' (Read the *Journal*, p. 110).

E. The General Character of the Administration—The whole administration was highly systematised. "Considering the extent of the country and the want of rapid communication, and considering that the assemblies took great interest in the discharge of their manifold functions, there is no gainsaying the fact that the administration was efficient and well-suited to the times." (Krishnaswamy). "While it is obvious that a dead institution of such antiquity cannot be revived in its old form, it is permissible to regret that modern conditions present so many difficulties in the way of utilizing village assemblies." (Smith).

CHAPTER V. INDIA AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

[Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*: R. Mookerji., *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity*; Kanakasabai Pillay, *The Tamils, Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*.]

1. Preliminary.

A. India's Isolation and Intercourse—Mountain-guarded and sea-girt as she is on the north and the south, India looks as if she had been meant by nature to remain aloof from the rest of the world and to develop her civilization in isolation, untouched by the currents that stir humanity abroad. Yet the present political isolation of India is a comparatively modern feature in her history; for, in spite of the rigid isolation apparently decreed to her by nature, we find a remarkably active intercourse with foreign countries established by the efforts of man, and a conquest achieved over the natural environment. In fact there is hardly any country in the world that presents such an eventful record of intercourse with foreign countries. "The geography of India points to her natural isolation; but the history of India reveals other facts. And if we study that history carefully from the earliest times we shall easily recognize that contact or intercourse with other countries has been no less potent factor in its making than isolation." (Mookerji). India is a favoured country where all the diversities of human culture have met to build up an extraordinarily rich and synthetic culture. Thus intercourse is as much a characteristic of the history of India as her isolation. All the available evidences clearly show that for full thirty centuries India stood out as the very heart of the commercial world.

B. Periods of Foreign Intercourse—In the history of India's intercourse with the outside world in ancient days, we may distinguish four more or less clearly marked epochs—(1) The Pre-Mauryan Epoch, extending from the earliest times to about the year 321 B. C., (2) The Mauryan Epoch, from 321 B. C. to 184 B. C.; (3) The Epoch of the Foreign Dynasties in North-Western India and of the Andhras in the South, extending

roughly from the second century B. C. to the third century A. D., and (4) The Epoch of Hindu Imperialism in Northern India under the Guptas and Harshavardhana, extending from the fourth century to the seventh century A. D., as well as of Hindu Imperialism in Southern India and the rise of the Cholas, extending from the middle of the seventh century up to the Muhammadan conquests.

2. The Pre-Mauryan Epoch.

A. **Intercourse with Western Asia**—(*a*) The Period of *Assyrian* Empire—The earliest trace of India's intercourse with the West is probably to be found in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Hittite king of Mitanni in Cappadocia, belonging to the fourteenth or fifteenth century B. C. These kings bore Aryan names, and worshipped the Vedic gods—Indra, Mitra and Varuna. They were evidently closely connected with the Aryans of the Vedic Age in the Punjab. Assurbanipal is known to have been a great cultivator, and to have sent for Indian plants, including "wool-bearing trees" of India. (Rawlinson, p. 2). At any rate the cotton trade of India is of great antiquity. Logs of Indian teak have been found in the temple of the Moon at Mughier, the "Ur of the Chaldees," as well as in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, both belonging to the sixth century B. C. On the obelisk of Shalmanesor III, 860 B. C., are apes, Indian elephants, and and Bactrian camels. (*b*) The Period of *Babylonian* Empire—In 606 B. C., came the overthrow of the Assyrian empire, and Babylon took the place of Nineveh as queen of western Asia. In the crowded market-places of that great city met the races of the world, including Indians from the Punjab, who came to sell their wares. In one of the Jataka stories, called the Baberu Jataka, we hear of Indian merchants who took periodical voyages to the land of Baberu (Babylon). (Read Mookerji, pp. 86-87). According to the great German scholar, Prof. Buhler, these Indian merchants were the Vanias of Western India, the particular caste of Hindus entrusted with the business of trade, to whom Manu refers in his code. (Mookerji, p. 62). The classical literature of ancient India is full of references to ships, shipping and distant voyages (Mookerji, Book I, Part I). A Babylonian

colony may haye sprung up on the borders of India, for Strabo tells us that the followers of Alexander found at Taxila a marriage-market conducted on the well-known Babylonian principle. (Read the description of this market in Oxford History, p. 62). (*c*) The Period of the *Persian* Empire—In 538 B. C. the last of the great Semitic Empires of Western Asia came to an end by the storming of Babylon by Cyrus the great monarch of Persia. His son Darius built up a great kingdom and he determined to add the Indus valley to his dominions. We have already seen his invasion and conquest of the Punjab and Sindh. Herodotus states that the Persian fleet "frequented the sea" which seems to imply that Darius considerably developed the sea-traffic, to which the exploration by Skylax must have lent great help. Homer speaks of two races of Ethiopians, the western or African and the eastern or Dravidians of India. (Read Rawlinson, p. 18), Herodotus applies the word to the dark Dravidians of Southern India. The Greek geographer Hecataeus of Miletus, a contemporary of Skylax, alludes to eight Indian names. Herodotus, born in 484 B. C., was the first Greek writer about India. He has given us a careful and accurate account of India. Indian troops, clad in cotton with iron-tipped cane arrows, formed the light division of the army of Xerxes, and "they must have marched through the bloody defiles of Thermopylae, and their usefulness caused them to be retained by Mardonius after the retreat of the king, to take part in the Boeotian campaign which ended so disastrously at the Asopus." Ionian Officers in Persian employ, and probably Ionian traders, visited the Punjab. But with the break-up of the Persian Empire and the war with Greece, the traffic between India and the west sank to practically nothing.

B. India's Intercourse with Egypt—In the Book of Genesis there is mention of a company of traders with their camels bearing spicery, balm and myrrh, going to Egypt. In the abundant booty loading the vessel of Pharaoh for conveyance to the land of Egypt appear a great many Indian animals and products not indigenous to Egypt—elephants' teeth, gold, precious stones, sandal-wood and monkeys. Further, the presence of indigo,

tamarind-wood, and other Indian products has been detected in the tombs of Egypt, and it is also pointed out that the Egyptians dyed cloth with indigo and wrapped their mummies in Indian muslim. But the Egyptians were poor sailors, and the Indian articles found their way to Egypt through Arab and Phoenician ships. There are certain words which betray an Indian origin of articles. The Egyptian word *ebu* like the Italian *ebur*, is clearly the Sanskrit *ibhu*, and the Egyptian word *Kafu*, like the Hebrew *Koph*, comes from the Sanskrit *Kapi*, meaning "ape." The presence of the African Baobab in the Tinnevelly district has been traced to early traders from Africa.

C. India's Intercourse with the East—Within this epoch falls one great event—the invasion of Ceylon by King Vijaya of Bengal. According to the Mahavamsa of Ceylon, Prince Vijaya and his seven hundred followers were banished by the King Sinhaba (Sinhavaha) of Bengal for the oppressions they practised upon his subjects. The ships in which they were sent adrift started from a place near the city of Sinhapura. They landed in Ceylon about 550 B. C., and achieved the conquest and colonisation of Ceylon, and gave to the island the name of Sinhala after that of his dynasty—an event which is the starting point of Sinhalese history. "The conquest of Ceylon, laying as it did the foundation of a Greater India, was a national achievement that was calculated to stir deeply the popular mind, and was naturally seized by the imagination of the artist as a fit them for the exercise of his powers. It is thus that we can explain its place in our national gallery at Ajanta." (Mookerji). During this period there are no references to intercourse with more distant eastern countries like Java, Cochin China and Japan. Thus during the Pre-Mauryan Epoch the main intercourse of Indians was with the West which was the meeting place of various civilised nations of antiquity--the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Hebrews, the Egyptian, the Phoenicians, the Persians and the Greeks.

3. The Mauryan Epoch.

A. Intercourse with the West—In 327 Alexander began his conquest of India and, as before, took the Punjab

and Sindh under the Graeco-Macedonian rule. "He was no mere military adventurer, and from the first his object was to develop the immense commercial resources of the Punjab." (Rawlinson). Trading depots or colonies were founded all along the course of the Indus. Bukephala and Nikaea were built on the banks of the Hydaspes; Alexandria-on-Indus at the important spot where the Akesines joins the main stream; and Patala at the head of the Indus delta. Alexandria soon became an important town, and under the Bactrians it became their capital and a Great Graeco-Buddhist centre. Patala remained an important port for western trade, and was the principal harbour in north-western India until its claims were rivalled by Barygaza. The Macedonian rule in India succumbed to the revolt organized by Chandragupta. By 315 B. C. Macedonian rule in the Punjab was at an end, though doubtless very considerable bodies of "Yavana" colonists continued to remain settled in the Punjab. "They were united by ties of marriage, to the country of their adoption and had no desire to return." (Rawlinson). After Alexander's death came Seleukus Nikator to reconquer India, but Chandragupta defeated him and forced him to come to terms. By this alliance Chandragupta received certain provinces in Arachosia and Gedrosia, in return for 500 elephants. The alliance between the monarchs was cemented by a marriage between the Indian king and a Syrian princess. It was probably owing to this occurance that the Syrian and Mauryan monarchs continued for several generations to maintain a close and friendly intercourse. Ambassadors from the West frequently visited the Mauryan court. Megasthenes came from Seleukus to Chandragupta; Deimachus from the same monarch to Bindusara; and Dionysius from Ptolemy Philadelphus. Greek girls were frequently imported to Barygaza; there are allusions in Indian dramas to the presence of "Guard of Yavana women" at the courts of Indian Rajas, e. g., Chadragupta in Mudra Rakshasa; Dushyanta Raja in Kalidasa's "Shakuntala," and the Pandian king in Tamil poets. In Southern India, we hear of a body-guard of "dumb Mlecchas" meaning foreigners. (Rawlinson, p. 47). In the adminstrative machinery of Chandragupta, the second Board was charged with the task of seeing to

the comfort of all travellers, merchants, ambassadors, and other foreigners visiting India. They had to attend them when sick, bury them if they died, and send their effects to their relatives in their native country. The existence of this Board points to the supposition that a large number of merchants, chiefly, no doubt, Greeks from Syria and Alexandria, visited India in this reign, attracted by Chandragupta's far-sighted foreign policy. The reign of Asoka is specially important in the history of India's intercourse with the outside world. When he was converted to Buddhism, he sent "missionaries to his friends, the Greek monarchs of Egypt, Syria and Macedonia, that they might share the glad tidings of his new creed."

B. Intercourse with the East—In Bodhisattvavadana of the Kashmir poet Kshemendra, is related how Emperor Asoka, seated on the throne at Pataliputra, while holding his court was one day approached by some Indian merchants who traded to the distant lands. They informed him of their losses and complete ruin brought about by the depredations of seafaring pirates called Nagas (probably the Chinese, who are worshippers of the Dragon) who destroyed all their ships and plundered their treasure. (Mookerji, p. 114).

4. The Andhra—Kushan Epoch.

A. Intercourse with the Bactrians, Parthians and Scythians—During the period which intervened between the death of Asoka and the rise of the Guptas, India was invaded and North-West India was occupied by various foreign powers and tribes. The history of their connection with India has already been sketched. The invasion of the Bactrians was for commercial purposes. Demetrius of Bactria conquered Ariana, Sind and Surashtra. "His object was no doubt commercial. He pushed the limits of his realm to the edge of the Pamirs in order to control the silk-routes; and by conquering Sind and Kathiawar, he obtained an outlet to the sea by the great waterway of the Indus." (Rawlinson, p. 71). The greatest of the Bactrian kings was Menandar whose invasions are already alluded to. The Bactrians were followed by the Parthians, the Sakas and the Kushans.

B. Intercourse with Rome–R. Sewell, the well-known authority on the early history of South India, makes the following general remarks regarding the foreign trade and intercourse during the Andhra period—"The Andhra period (200 B. C. to 250 A. D.) seems to have been one of considerable prosperity. There was trade, both overland and by sea, with Western Asia, Greece, Rome, and Egypt, as well as with China and the East. Embassies are said to have been sent from South India to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. Pliny mentions the vast quantities of specie that found its way every year from Rome to India, and in this he is confirmed by the author of the Periplus. Roman coins have been found in profusion in the Peninsula, and especially in the south. In A. D. 68 a number of Jews, fleeing from Roman persecution, seems to have taken refuge among the friendly coast-people of South India, and to have settled in Malabar." During the Kushan period of North Indian History the Roman influence on India was at its height; Roman arts and ideas travelled with the stream of Roman gold which flowed into the treasuries of the Rajahs in payment of the silks, gems, and spices of the East. A great demand arose on the part of the wealthy Romans for the luxuries of the East. The articles of this Roman trade comprised chiefly spices and perfumes, precious stones and pearls, and silk, muslins and cotton. The consumption of aromatics in Rome was stimulated by religious and funeral customs. (Mookerji, pp. 123-24). Numismatic evidences bring to light the fact that the Indian trade with Rome was most active during the period of eighty years from Augustus to Nero (A. D. 68); for the largest number of coins discovered in Southern India refers to this period. According to Mommsen's calculation, India, China, and Arabia absorbed £ 1,100,000 worth of Roman specie, of which nearly half went to India. (Rawlinson, p. 103). One of the results of this intercourse was the rise of a new school of Indian art, the school of Gandhara, which is admitted on all hands to be closely related to the art of the Roman Empire in the Augustan and Antonine periods, and was at its best between A. D., 100 and 300. Another result was the appearance of several works bearing

more or less directly upon the subject of Indian geography—Strabo's "Geography"; Pliny the Elder's "Natural History"; the "Periplus Maris Erythraei," probably published at Alexandria; Ptolemy's "Guide to Geography." The trade with Rome was at a low ebb from the days of the Emperor Caracalla, when Rome was a prey to confusion, both internal and external. However it revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors, when the brisk trade was not in stones, cottons and muslins, but in pepper and spices. It is noteworthy that Alaric spared Rome in A. D. 408 only when he obtained as part of ransom 3,000 pounds of pepper. Interesting coins of this period have been found at Madura, and it is inferred that, when the Roman Empire was being overrun by barbarians, the Roman Commercial agents took up their residence in some of the capitals and marts of South India. Smith says, "There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of our era, and that European soldiers, described as powerful Yavanas, and dumb Mlecchas (barbarians) clad in complete armour, acted as body guards to Tamil kings, while the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas lay off Muziris (Cranganore) to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for by Roman gold." Tamil literature alludes to the facts that Roman soldiers were enlisted in the service of the Pandyan and other kings and that they were employed to guard the gates of the fort of Madura. "It is even stated, and no doubt truly, that a temple dedicated to Augustus existed at Muziris." (Smith). Another foreign (Yavana) colony was settled at Kaviri-paddanam or Pukar, a busy port situated at the mouth of the northern branch of the Cauveri river. Besides the allusions to Roman intercourse in the Indian literature, there are also several foreign works which allude to the subject. In the Periplus we are told that Bharoach was the principal distributing centre of Western India. (Mookerji, p. 132). Besides commercial connections with the Roman world, there are definite references to political intercourse of India with Rome. Strabo mentions that a mission or an embassy was sent to Augustus in 20 B. C. by the Indian king Pandion. It is now settled beyond doubt that Pandion

was the king of the Pandyas of the south, who were then the only people in India that perceived the advantages of a European alliance that was first entered into in the days of the Mauryan emperors of Northern India. Dion Cassius (A. D. 180) also speaks of Emperor Trajan receiving many embassies from Indians. The Indian monarch who sent an embassy to Trajan was probably the great Emperor Kanishka. (*ante*, p. 67). Eusebius Pampheli speaks of Indian ambassadors bringing presents to Constantine the Great; and Ammianus Marcellinus of embassies sent by Indians to Emperor Julian in 361 A. D. The explanation of this intercourse of India with Rome is to be found in the fact that from the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, i. e., from B. C. 30 to A. D. 550, their political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sassanians, and their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the East and the West, made the friendship of the Kushans or Sakas, who held the Indus valley and Baktria, a matter of highest importance to Rome. Other indications of the close connection between India and the Roman Empire are the mass of accurate information regarding the Indus valley and Bactria which Ptolemy and the Periplus record, and the gaining, by the Kushan and other rulers of the Panjab, of a knowledge of Roman coinage and astronomy. After Pliny, Ptolemy, and the Periplus, the next important foreign notice of Indian commerce is that of Cosmos Indicopleustes (A. D. 535), who in his "Christian Topography" furnishes some interesting particulars respecting Ceylon and the Malabar Coast. (Mookerji, p. 140).

5. The Epoch of Hindu Imperialism in India.

A. The Intercourse with Farther India—Throughout centuries when India carried on her maritime and political intercourse with Rome, she also maintained an equally active commerce with the Farther East. Several Buddhist works point to a complete navigation of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian ocean and the flow of a steady and ceaseless traffic between Bengal and Ceylon, Madras and Burma. Smith says, "Ancient Tamil literature and the Greek and Roman authors

prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandal or Chola coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both West and East. The Chola fleets did not confine themselves to coasting voyages, but boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal to the mouths of the Ganges and the Irrawaddy, and the Indian Ocean to the islands of the Malay Archipelago." Regarding this trade of the Tamils, ancient Tamil poems allude to voyages undertaken by merchants to Nagapuram in Chavakam (Sumatra or Java), Kalakam in Burma, and seaports in Ceylon and Bengal. Lower Burma or Pegu was conquered by emigrants from the Telugu kingdoms bordering on the Bay of Bengal, and consequently the people of Pegu have long been known to the Burmese and to all foreigners by the name of Talaing. Next to the Tamils in the eastward maritime activity of India the pioneering work seem to have been done and the lead taken by the ancient kingdom of Kalinga, extending from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Krishna, with Kalingapatam as its capital. Some of the Kalinga inscriptions speak of navigation and ship-commerce as forming part of the education of the princes of Kalinga. The Chilka Lake in those days made an excellent harbour for anchorage, crowded with ships from distant countries. From the sacred scripture of the Burmese, it is clear that a steady commercial intercourse was cultivated with Burma by the Buddhist merchants of Kalinga, which soon led to missionary undertakings for the propagation of their religion, and afterwards to the assumption of political supremacy in Burma. It is recorded that about 300 A. D. people from the west coast of the Bay of Bengal founded colonies on the coasts of the Gulf of Martaban. This intercourse with Burma also appears from coins and medals with Hindu symbols being found in Pegu. That there was intercourse also with Malacca is evident from many words in the Malayan language which Marsden has traced to an Indian or Sanskrit origin. This great intercourse with the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal and the straits of Malacca was in the ascendant during the first five or six centuries of our era. The first great Buddhist persecution both checked it and also drove great

numbers of the victims to the opposite coast. (Mookerji, p. 147). One Tamil MSS. refers to a party of Buddhist exiles, headed by a king of Manda, flying in their ship from the coast, like the Pilgrim Fathers to found a Greater India across the Bay. This emigration must have taken place at the time of Buddhist persecution when the Chalukyas established their power at Rajamundry.

B. The Colonisation of Java—"Perhaps the most interesting and conspicuous fact in connection with the Indian maritime activity towards the East is the Hindu colonization of Java, one of the most glorious achivements recorded in the entire history of the country." (Mookerji). The history of this colonial expansion of ancient India is thus briefly put by Elphinstone. "The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindus from Clinga (Kalinga) who landed on this island; civilized the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the 75th year after Christ. The truth of this narrative is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent Hindu remains that are still existing in Java, and by the fact that, although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and political compositions and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Sanskrit. The early date is almost as decisively proved by the journal of the Chinese pilgrim in the end of the 4th century who found Java entirely peopled by Hindus, and who sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China in ships manned by crews professing the Brahmanical religion." Besides the Kalingas, people of Gujarat and Western India are also recorded to have colonized Java. An extensive commerce sprang up with Gujarat and other countries, and the foundations were laid of temples, that were afterwards known as Prambanam and Borobudur, the grandest specimens of Buddhist art in Asia.

C. The Intercourse with China—It was also in the age of the Guptas and Harsha-vardhana that we find the field of Indian maritime activity in the eastern seas extending as far as China and Japan in the farthest East, beyond the small colonies

of Java and Sumatra. This intercourse with China by way of the sea began at least as early as the first century A. D. Throughout the first and second centuries A. D., during the reigns of the Chinese Emperor Hoti (89—105 A. D.) and of the Emperor Hiwanti (158–9 A. D.) there arrived, according to Chinese annals, many embassies from Indian sovereigns bringing merchandise under the name of tribute to the Chinese court. Chinese annals point also to a continued intercourse of Ceylon with China by way of the sea, which was due to a common national worship. In the sixth century there was a continued development of the maritime intercourse between India and China. (Mookerji, p. 166). In 526 A. D. Bodhidharma, the great patriarch of Indian Buddhism, who was the son of a king of Southern India, embarked in his old age from India, and reached Canton by sea. His arrival gave a great impetus to Indian missionary activity in China, where it is recorded that there were at work at one time and in one province "more than 3,000 Indian monks and 10,000 Indian families to impress their national religion and art on Chinese soil." Specific mention of individual sea-voyages to China also appears in Chinese works. Thus in A. D. 548 Paramati, a native of Ujjain, being invited by the Emperor Wu, arrived on the southern coast of China.

D. The Intercourse with Japan—As regards the intercourse with Japan, which also developed during this period, we have a few conclusive facts and evidences to adduce. Japanese tradition records the names of Indian evangelists who visited Japan to propagate the Buddhist faith. Thus Bodhidharma of South India, after working in China, went to Japan and had interview with Prince Shotoku (573–621 A. D.). Subkakara was another Indian, a native of Central India, who, while working in China (716–735), privately visited Japan. The visit of the Indian missionary Bodhisena to Japan in 736 A. D. is a historical fact. India contributed not only to the religion of Japan but also to her industry. The official annals of Japan record how eleven centuries ago cotton was introduced into Japan by two Indians. Again, it is recorded that an Indian was cast up on Japanese shores in April, 800, and the cotton-seeds he had brought with

him were sown in the different provinces of Japan. "These two records are enough to convince us that cotton was introduced into Japan through the Indians." (Mookerji, p. 174). Towards the end of the tenth century, South India under the Cholas witnessed a remarkable outburst of naval activity under the strong government of a succession of the great Chola kings, Raja-Raja the Great, Rajendra Choladeva I, and Kulotunga. The last Chola embassy of 1077 A. D. consisted of 72 men. "It was probably, like most of the missions from South India to China, nothing better than a trading expedition on joint account, the 72 ambassadors being the shareholders." (Mookerji).

6. The Principal Ports of Ancient India.

(1) Broach—The different forms of this name are Bharoch, Baruh, Bharukaccha, Barygaza, and Bhrighu-Kaccha. Broach was the most famous of the Indian ports trading with the West, until it was eclipsed, after 47 A. D., by its southern rivals. It lay on the river Narmada, and was difficult of access on account of the shoals, and the extraordinary ebb and flow of he ti de. It was the western port for Surashtra, which brought the Kingdom into contact with Graeco-Roman influence. This trade with the West brought the king considerable wealth. It was a port for the vessels coming from China, as also for those of Sindh. It was the first calling-station from the west. The Arab vessels, after leaving Muza, the modern Mocha, sailed straight to Broach. It is recorded that the embassy sent by Kadphises or Kanisha to Augustus sailed from Broach. The merchants of the country round Broach traded to Arabia for gums and incense, to the coast of Africa for gold, and to Malabar and Ceylon for pepper and cinnamon. The chief articles of export were teak, ebony, sandalwood and blackwood; various kinds of birds and beasts including Sindh horses; ivory; cotton goods; jewels, gold and silver; and Indian drugs and perfumes such as costus, frankincense, and spikenard. (Rawlinson. pp. 125—26). The chief articles of import were specie, native Indian coinage being scarce and bad; Greek girls for courts of Indian Rajahs; and silk from Nankin in China. It was the great fore-runner of modern Bombay.

(2) **Sopara**—The other forms of the name are Supara and Souppara. It lay north of Bassein, in the Thana District of the Bombay Presidency. That it was a very important port in ancient days may be inferred from the fact that one of the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Asoka is found here and that it is the only place where Asokan inscriptions have been found along the whole of the western coast south of Kathiawar. The Jatakas contain several stories of voyages to distant lands and perilous adventures by sea, in which the names of the very ancient sea-ports of Supara and Broach are occasionally mentioned. Broach and Supara traded with Babylon from the 8th to the 6th century B. C. There is also an allusion to the rivalry between Sopara and Broach. During the period of Andhra supremacy in the Deccan, Sopara and Kalyan, another port, were blockaded by the men-of-war from the rival port of Broach, who towed vessels off to their own harbour and made them unload there. Broach and Sopara were the leading seaports of Western India, and the other secondary ports in the Dekkan were, according to the Periplus, Ter (Tagara), Paithan and Kalyan, these being supplied with goods from the central part of India by the great high road running through Daulatabad to Hyderabad.

(3) **Muziris**—The other forms are Muchiris, Muchiri, Muyirikolu and Muyiri-kotta. Its modern name is Cranganore with which it is conclusively identified. This was the most important seaport in South India on the western coast, and was situated at the mouth of the Periyar. It took the leading place among the ports of the Western coast after the discovery of the regularity of the monsoons in the Indian ocean, by a pilot named Hippalus in 47 A. D. After this discovery ships began to sail direct to the port of Muziris—a circumstance which added immensely to the security of the cargoes which no longer had to fear the attack of the Arabs on caravans crossing the deserts or of privates on vessels hugging the coast. Muchiri is described by a Tamil poet as follows. "The thriving town of Muchiri, where the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas, bringing gold, come splashing the white foam on the waters of the Periyar which belongs to the Cherala, and return laden with pepper".

Another poet says, "Fish is bartered for paddy, which is brought in baskets to the houses, sacks of pepper are brought from the houses to the market; the gold received from ships, in exchange for articles sold, is brought to shore in barges at Muchiri, where the music of the surging sea never ceases, and where Kudduvan (the Chera King) presents to visitors the rare products of the seas and mountains." The Greek traders sailed from Egypt in July and arrived in Muziris in forty days. They stayed on the Malabar coast for about three months and commenced their return voyages from Muziris in December or January. The Greeks were then the carriers of the Roman trade. The articles of this Roman trade comprised chiefly of spices and perfumes, ivory, precious stones and pearls, and silks, muslins and cotton. There was a temple of Augustus at Muziris, and hence it was known as "Mahodevarpatanam" in early Malayam. At Muziris there was a Raman colony. Its modern representative is Cochin. The other ports mentioned by the Periplus along the western coast of Southern India were Tyndis, Nelkynda and Bacare.

(4) **Nelkynda**—Probably its was Nil-Kantha, and not Nileswara. (Mookerji, p. 124). According to Rawlinson. it was "somewhere in the Cochin backwaters." (p. 120). About the time of the Periplus, it became the most important of the Indian ports. "This was partly due to the blockade of the Northern Deccan coast by the ships of Broach. The chief reason, however, is to be sought in the pepper-trade, for which. after the epoch-making discovery of Hippalus, it became the chief port. After this, it completely ecclipsed even Broach." (Rawlinson, See his map at the end). The articles of export were the same as those of Muziris. Bacare is, according to Smith, (O. H. p. 144), Vaikkarai, "the haven of Kottayam im the Travancore state".

(5) **Kaviri-paddinam**—It was the Pukar of Tamil poets, the Kamara of the Periplus and the Khaberis of Ptolemy. It was on the east coast what Muziris was on the west. The following is Mookherji's description of the port. It was built on the northern bank of the Kaviri river, then a broad and deep stream into which heavily laden ships entered from the sea

without slacking sail. The town was divided into two parts, one of which, "Maruvar-Pakkam", adjoined the sea-coast. Near the beach in Maruvar-Pakkam were raised platforms and godowns and warehouses where the goods landed from ships were stored. Hear the goods were stamped with the Tiger stamp (the emblem of the Chola kings) after payment of customs duty, and passed on to merchant's warehouses. Close by were the settlements of the Yavana merchants, where many attractive articles were always exposed for sale. Here were also the quarters of foreign traders who had come from beyond the seas and who spoke various tongues. Vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, tailors who worked on silk, wool or cotton, traders in sandal, aghil, coral, pearl, gold, and precious stones. grain merchants, washermen, dealers in fish and salts, butchers, blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, coppersmiths, painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, cobblers, and toy-makers—all had their habitation in Maruvar-Pakkam. (Mookerji, p. 136). What is again worth noting is the fact that in these Chola ports there were lighthouses built of brick and mortar which exhibited blazing lights at night to guide ships to ports. One of its chief trade-lines was with Kalakam (Kaddaram) in Burma. Other minor ports on the Coromandel coast or Cholamandalam, according to the Periplus, were Poduca i. e., Puducheri or Pondicherry, and Soptama, i. e., Su-patana, the "fair city" of Madras. (Rawlinson, p. 122).

(6) **Masulipatam**—The other forms of it were Maesolia and Masalia of the Periplus. According to the Periplus, Masulipatam had a great trade in muslins. From this port, ships set out on a voyage to the Far East. It was the greatest port of Kalinga. The Hindu settlement of Sumatra was almost entirely from the east coast of India, and Bengal, Orissa, and Masulipatam had a large share in colonizing both Java and Cambodia. According to Tavernier, in 1666 A. D., Masulipatam was the only place in the Bay of Bengal from which vessels sailed eastwards for Bengal, Arrakan, Pegu, Siam, Sumatra, Cochin China, and the Manillas, and westwards to Hormuz, Makha, and Madagascar. Thus it outlived the other ports of Palura and

Tamralipta. Another port of importance was Dosarene, the Darsana or holy land of Orissa, with its trade in ivory.

(7) **Tamralipta**—It was at the western mouth of the Ganges. There were four great trading centres of Bengal in early days—Satgaon, Sonargaon, Champa, and Tamralipta. Satgaon, called Tcharitrapoura in the time of the Chinese Pilgrim's visit, is described by Ptolemy as a royal city of immense size. Sonargaon was the great harbour of Eastern Bengal. Champa or Bhagalpur was also one of the commercial centres from which merchants could sail for "Subarnabhumi" or Burma. But by far the most important emporium of ancient Bengal was Tamralipta, the great Buddhist harbour of the Bengal sea-board as Masulipatam of Kalinga and Pukar of Cholamandalam. Its trade, according to the Periplus, consisted chiefly of cloths of the most delicate texture and extreme beauty—Benares muslims and Chinese silk, and of "malobathrum". (Rawlinson, p. 123). The place is of great antiquity as it figures in the sacred writings of the Hindus prior to the days of Asoka. Fa-Hian found it (399-414) a maritime settlement of the Buddhists.

PART II

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

BOOK I

PRELIMINARY

CHAPTER I. MEDIAEVAL INDIA

1. The Scope and Divisions of Mediaeval India.

A. Meaning and Extent of "Mediaeval India"— The Mediaeval Period of Indian history, though it does not exactly correspond with the Middle Ages of Europe, is not less clearly defined. It begins when the immemorial systems, rule, and customs of Ancient India were invaded, subdued, and modified by a succession of foreign conquerors who imposed a new rule and introduced an exotic creed, strange languages and a foreign art. These conquerors were Muslims, and with the arrival of the Turks under Mahmud the Iconoclast at the beginning of the eleventh century, India entered upon her Middle Age. From that epoch for nearly eight hundred years her history is grouped round the Muhammadan rulers who gradually brought under their control nearly the whole country from the Himalayas to the Krishna river. The Period ends when one of the last of these rulers, oppressed by the revival of Hindu ascendency, placed himself under English protection, and Modern India came into being. (Lane-Poole). Thus, according to Lane-Poole, the Muhammadan Period of Indian history extends from 1001, the date of the first expedition of Muhamad of Ghazni, to 1764, the date of the Battle of Buxar, after which the last Moghul Emperor Shah Alam came under the protection of the British. To this we may connect, for the convenience of study, the early period of Arab invasions and conquest extending from 637 to 750,

B. The Divisions of the Muhammadan Period—(637-1764).

I. The Period of Incursions, ending in Conquest (637-1206)

(a) The Arab Period (637-750)

1. The Period of Plunder (637-712)
2. The Period of Conquest (712-750)

(b) The Afghan Period (1000-1206)

1. The House of Ghazni (1000-1186)
2. The House of Ghor (1186-1206)

II. The Period of Muhammadan Kingdoms (1206-1526)

(a) The Kingdoms of Northern India.

1. Delhi→	1) The Slave Dynasty	(1206-1290)	= 84 years
2. Bengal	2) The Khilji ,,	(1290-1320)	= 30 ,,
3. Jaunpur	3) The Toglak ,,	(1320-1414)	= 94 ,,
4. Malwa	4) The Sayid ,,	(1414-1451)	= 37 ,,
5. Gujarat	5) The Lodi ,,	(1451-1526)	= 75 ,,

(b) The Kingdoms of Southern India (Deccan).

The Bahmani Kingdom 1347-1526	1) Ahmadnagar .	(1490-1637)	—Nizam Shahs
	2) Bijapur . . .	(1490-1686)	—Adil ,,
	3) Golconda . .	(1512-1687)	—Kutb ,,
	4) Berar . . .	(1484-1575)	—Imad ,,
	5) Bidar . . .	(1492-1609)	—Barid ,,

III. The Period of the Moghul Empire (1526-1764)

1. Rise of the Empire (1526-1556)— { Babar the Conqueror. Humayun the Unlucky.
2. Growth of the Empire (1556-1605)—Akbar the Founder.
3. Zenith of the Empire (1605-1658)— { Jahangir the Sluggard. Shah Jahan the Magnificent.
4. Decline of the Empire (1658-1707)—Aurangzib the Purtian.
5. Fall of the Empire (1707-1764)—The Later Mughals.

2. The Feature of the Mediaeval Period.

A. A New Stage in Indian History—When we pass from Ancient India to Mediaeval India or from Hindu India to Muhammadan India, we feel as if we enter all at once another world and breathe a new air: the leading characters are foreigners and not Indians, the leading kingdoms are Muhammadan and not Hindu, and the leading language is neither Sanskrit nor Pali, but Persian. Distinct and clearly marked, as the Mediaeval or Muhammadan Period is, the transition implies no violent change. History is always continuous; there can be no fresh start; and each new period carries on much of what preceeded it. "In India, as ever in the East, change is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. Ancient India was too deeply rooted in its traditions to wither even under the storm of Muslim conquest. The old Indian life survived the shock of new ideas, which it modified at least as much as it was modified; it outlived the Muslim Period, and still endures, but little altered, in the Modern Age of English domination." (Lane-Poole, p. iv).

B. Biographical Character of the History of the Period—History in the East, it has been observed, does not mean the growth of constitution, the development of civil rights, the vindication of individual liberty or the evolution of self-government. This is especially true of the history of Muhammadan India; during this period we have to do with Kings and their works. "The history of the Muhammadan period is necessarily more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. The vast mass of the people enjoy the doubtful happiness of having no history, since they show no development; apparently they are the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." (Lane-Poole).

C. Continuity of the Indian Administrative Principles—Though we find an infinite variety in the character and life of the rulers, and though the chief interest of the Mediaeval Period centres round the lives of great men and of a few great women, there was no marked change even in the principles and methods of government as might be expected from the diversity

of successive rulers of various races. "English Collector-Magistrates follow much the same system, in essential outline, as that which Akbar adopted from his Hindu Chancellor, and many executive details and most of the principles of local administration have their origin in probably pre-historic custom". (Lane-Poole). It has been said that "the administration of India has always been in the hands of Hindus".

D. The Long Rivalry between Two Peoples and Religions—"From about the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era, the history of India is chiefly occupied with the struggles of the Hindu races against Muhammadan conquerors of various tribes". (Pope). Just as in the history of Europe we witness, during the Mediaeval Period, a long struggle between Christianity and Islam, between Christian and Muhammadan powers, so also in the history of India, we see, during the Mediaeval Period, a long struggle for supremacy between Hinduism and Islam, between Hindu and Muhammadan kingdoms. The struggle of the early Muhammadan invaders like Muhammad Ghazni and Muhammad Ghori, and of the Delhi Sultans like Allauddin Khilji and Mahomed Tughlak, with the famous Rajput clans of Northern India, of the Bahmani kingdom with the Vijayanagar Empire, and of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzib with the Maharattas and the Rajputs—all these are but the different phases of the long rivalry between the Muhammadans and the Hindus for supremacy in India.

E. Contrast between Muhammadan and other Invaders—Many successive invaders—the Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Huns—had entered India; but all of them either returned whence they came or were rapidly absorbed in the general population, and they have left few definite traces of their presence. With the Muhammadans it was different: its pressure from outside was more continuous, and the marked disparity in religious belief between the ancient inhabitants and these invaders produced far deeper and more lasting results. These foreigners and their descendants, though assimilated into the nationalism of India, have unlike others remained a separate people and an important and decisive factor in Indian politics.

3. State of India on the eve of the Muslim Conquest.

A. **General Conditon**—"From preceeding chapters it will have been seen that in the seventh century of our era, India was, and had been for many generations, a country of which the open plains and river valleys were occupied by a settled population devoted to agriculture and arts, with a copious literature, a refined philosophy, and fully developed religions, and living under singular social system, which had generally developed within the country itself." (Irvine). The Hindus led their easy lives, relaxing slowly under the increasing influences of luxury and peace. (Keene).

B. **Specific Features**—In the first place, the tenets of the Buddhist had produced a standard of character and conduct, in many ways, very different from what is observable in modern India after ages of foreign domination. Secondly, Brahmans were ceasing to be a sacerdotal class; although their religious ascendancy was reviving with the birth of the new Hinduism, they were chiefly respected as an aristocracy of pure and ancient descent. Thirdly, secular life was gay and luxurious; the world of sense, however denounced by sages, attracted the bulk of Indian mankind. Lastly, the fusion of races, always under the restrictions of the caste system, had been almost, if not quite, completed.

4. The Sources of Information.

A. **The Character of the Sources**—Muhammadans, unlike the Brahmans, have always shown a liking and aptitude for the writing of professed histories, so that every Muslim dynasty in Asia has found its chronicler. The modern historian of India, when he comes to the Muhammadan period, finds plenty of history books ready made from which he can draw most of his material. He is not reduced to the necessity of piecing together his story by combining fragments of information laboriously collected from inscriptions, coins, traditions, and passing literary references, as he is compelled to do when treating of the Hindu period. His principal difficulties arise from the contradictions of his authorities, the defects of their mode of composition, and endless minor chronological puzzles. The epigraphic, numismatic,

and monumental testimony is needed only for the completion and correction of details. The authors who deal with Indian history wrote, as a rule, in the Persian language. (Smith).

B. **Different Classes of Authorities**—The sources of information may be classified into five classes—State Papers; works of Muhammadan historians, poets and scientists; Memoirs; writings of travellers; and accounts of Missionaries. (1) Among the State Papers, the most important are those of Firuz Shah Toglak and Akbar; of which some have been lost, while others are preserved in the pages of Persian historians. (2) But the most abundant source of information is the works of Muhammadan historians and scientists. Most of the books are general histories of the Muslim world, in which Indian affairs occupy a comparatively small space, but a few works are confined to Indian subjects. The most celebrated is the excellent and conscientious compilation of Ferishta in 1612, during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, which forms the basis of Elphinstone's "History of India" and of most modern works on the subject. Alberuni, the most distinguished ornament of Muhmud Ghazni's reign, was "undoubtedly one of the most gifted scientific men known to history." His book on India is "like a magic island of quiet impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns; and plundered temples." He noted carefully and recorded accurately numerous observations on the history, character, manners, and customs of the Hindus, and was thus able to compose the wonderful book conveniently known as "Alberuni's India". Another valuable contribution is Abul-Fazl's "Akbarnama," the third volume of which forms the celebrated Ain-i-Akbari or "Acts of Akbar," published in 1597, which is a minute record of the customs and institutions of the greatest age of the Moghul Empire; "its originality is as indisputable as its surpassing historical importance". To this class belongs, Firdusi, the Perisian Homer, in whose "Shah Nama" the heroes of old Persian legend live for ever. (3) Among the Memoirs, the most famous are the Memoirs of Babar and those of Jahangir. For the reign of Humayun, Abul Fazl, the great minister of Akbar, and Joher, a servant of Humayun, have both left memoirs dealing

with his reign, in which its most important events have been recorded. (4) The writings of foreign travellers and ambassadors form another important source of information. Some of these travellers are Orientals while others are Europeans. The most important among the Eastern travellers is Ibn Batuta, a native of Tangiers, who visited Delhi in 1341 in the reign of Mohmad Toglak. (Rees, p. 77). Among the ambassadors we may note Abder Razzah, who was ambassador in 1442 from Persia to the King of Vijayanagar, and he gives an account of the splendour of the city. Among the European travellers we may single out the Russian Nikitin in 1470 who dwells upon the magnificence of the Muhammadan court of Bidar; the Italian Nicolo Conti who visited the court of the great king Deva Raja of Vijayanagar in 1420; the Portuguese Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, describes the kingdoms of Gujarat and Vijayanagar and the Malabar Coast; and the French physician Bernier, who was at the court of Shahjahan in the seventeenth century. (5) The accounts of European Missionaries are considered by Smith as one of the most reliable authorities for the history of Akbar's reign.

C. The Modern works on the Muhammadan Period.— A comprehensive general view of the Indian histories in Persia is to be obtained from the translations and summaries in the eight volumes of "The History of India as told by its own Historians" by Elliot and Dowson. Sir Edward Bayley's incomplete work entitled the "History of Gujarat" is a supplement to Elliot and Dowson's collections. Others worth mention are the English translations of the Tabakat-i Nasari by Raverty; of the Ain-i Akbari by Blochman and Jarrett, of the Akbarnama and the Memoirs of Jahangir by Beveridge; and Prof. Jadunath Sarkar's learned work on Aurangzib's reign. The publication in 1841 of Elphinstone's justly famous "History of India" made possible for the first time systematic study of the Indo-Muhammadan history of Hindustan down to the battle of Panipat in 1761. The history of the Sultans of Delhi and of the Mogual dynasty still offers a large field for much more of original research to the student of Indian history.

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMADANISM AND MUHAMMADANS.

1. Muhammadanism.

A. Mahomet—The founder of this new religion was Mahomet, who was an Arab of Mecca, the holy city of Arabia where he was born in 569. He gave himself out for a prophet, and taught that, though both the Jewish and Christian religions were sent from God, yet he had himself received a revelation more perfect than either, "In his own country there can be no doubt that Mahomet was a great reformer. He swept away the idolatry of the Arabs: he greatly reformed their laws and manners, and gathered their scattered tribes into one nation," (Freeman).

B. The Teaching of Mahomet—"There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet. God is one, Almighty, All-righteous, not a mere cold and remote abstraction, no motionless image graven in stone or marble, but a living God, the king of kings, and the lord of lords. He has chosen you to be the workers of His will and the champions of His trust. He has called you to victory over the infidel in this world, and to an ever-lasting paradise in the next.". It was at once an appeal to the deepest and truest instincts of a Semitic people, and the rallying cry of an awakened patriotism. It proclaimed to the sceptic a creed, and to the warriors a warfare and a crown. To win the joys of Paradise by the subjugation and conversion of the earth was a prospect which might well whet a worldly ambition no less than stimulate a religious zeal. (Sanderson).

2. The Conquests and Expansion of Islam.

A. Conquests of Mahomet—(*a*) Spiritual Conquests—Mahomet was about forty years when he began to preach. Mecca showed hostility to his teaching as it upset their existing religious practices of idolatry. Hence he made an alliance with Medina which believed in his prophetic character, and he fled thither. This flight of Mohamet, called the "Hegira", took place in 622, which date became the basis for the Muhammadan system

of reckoning time. When he found it hard to convert the Jews he turned to the Arabs, and the first step he took was to make Mecca the Holy City of his religion. (*b*) Political Conquest—The Meccans were still hostile to him, and gradually Mohamet instilled into the minds of his followers the idea that war against those who had done violence to the faithful was justifiable. His first military success against the Meccans quite turned him from the propagation of his faith in a peaceable way to the use of the sword. It soon became his settled policy to compel the Arabian to accept him and his religion. Before his death in 632 all Arabia acknowledged him, and his followers were prepared to carry his faith by force into all lands.

B. The Arab Empire—In the expansion of Muhammadanism and the Muhammadan Arab Empire, we may distinguish three periods. (1) The Hashemite Caliphis (632-660)—The successors of Mohamet are called Caliphs or Khaliffs ("vicar of the Prophet"). The reign of his two immediate successors—Abu Bekr (632-634) and Omar I (634-644)—was a period of uninterrupted internal harmony and external conquests. Islam conquered Syria from Roman Emperor Heraclius in 634, captured Jerusalem and overwhelmed Persia in 637, and conquered Egypt in 640. With the death of Omar I ended the "Golden Age of the Saracens." (Freeman). With the reign of the third Caliph Othman (644-655) began the division among the Muhammadans. He extended the Muhammadan power to the Oxus, and thus brought the Turkish tribes under the fold of Islam. As he favoured Mecca and the Omiads, another family of the tribe of Koreish, to whjch belongcd also the family of Hashemites of Mohamat, he was murdered in 655, and Medina chose Mohamet's son-in-law Ali as Caliph (655-660). The Omiads then revolted and the Arabian Empire was divided into two parts. Ali kept his porition in Persia and Mesopotamia, while his Omiad Moawijah ruled at Damascas. In one part was the Orthodox party, called the Sunnites who recognised the first three Caliphs, and in the other were the schismatics or Shiites. (2) The Omiad Caliphs (660-750). The first Omiad Caliph

Moawjah united the whole of Arab empire under him, but the religious separation continues even to our own days. Under the Omiads, Islam conquered Carthage in 695 and Spain in 711. The fifth and last Caliph was Soliman (715-750) under whom the Arab power reached its climax. It was under the Omiads, that the Arabs invaded India. In the west they were twice defeated in 717 by the Emperor Leo III at Constantinople and in 732 by Charles Martel of the Franks in the decisivie battle of Tours. (3) The Three Caliphates—After Soliman, the Arab Empire broke up into there divisions each under a Caliph—Baghdad in Asia; Cairo in Egypt; and Cordova in Spain. Of these, we are here concerned only with the Caliphate of Baghdad which had India under its political and spiritual sway. In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks came down from Central Asia and made themselves masters of all the Muhammadan parts of Asia. In 1058 their leader went to Baghdad, received all the temporal authority of the Caliph, and became Sultan of the Muhammadan world.

3. The Muhammadan Invaders of India.

A. The Arabs—During the five centuries following Mohamet's death there was produced among his followers a civilisation far in advance of any thing in Europe. The basis for it they received from Persia and Greece, but they added much to the stock thus obtained. In the administration of government they had an excellent system. They had advanced considerably in economic progress. In manufactures they outdid the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron and steel; and in textile fabries; they made glass and pottery of the finest quality; manufactured paper; and practised farming in a scientific way and had good systems of irrigation. Their commerce attained great proportions: their caravans traversed the empire from one end to the other, and their ships covered the sea. The Arabian sea is so called after their great commercial activity along the coasts of the Arabian sea. They developed a style of architecture, which was characterised

by the round and horse-shoe arch, the dome, the tall and graceful minaret, and the richness of its interior ornamentation. They established universities, which excelled all those of Europe for several centuries; the most important being those of Baghdad, Cairo and Cordova. They made valuable contributions to literature medicine, physiology and mathematics. Thus the Arab invaders of India were not barbarians like the later Turkish invaders.

B. **The Turks**—When the Arabs failed in their conquest of India, the role devolved upon that destructive, barbarian race known by the general name of the Turks, and when we speak of the Muhammadan empire in India we mean the rule of the Turks. Their invasion was no part of the expansion of Islam as a religious movement. It was merely the overflow of the teeming cradle-land of Central Asia, the eastern counterpart of those vast destructive migrations of the Huns, Turks, and Mongols, which from time to time swept over Europe. Like the Aryans, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Bactrians, the Parthians, the Scythians, and the Huns, they came down upon India through the north-western passes "which every now and then opened like sluice-gates to let the turbid flood of barbarians down into the deep calm waters of the Indian world". The Muslim Turks discovered the same road, and once familiar with the way, they came again and again until all India, save the very apex of the south, owned their sway, (Lane-Poole). The Afghan and Mughal Kings and Emperors belonged to the Turkish race.

BOOK II

THE PERIOD OF INVASIONS AND CONQUESTS

CHAPTER I. THE ARAB PERIOD

[Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, Ch. I; Elphinstone, *History of India*, Bk, V, Ch. I]

1. The Period of Plunder (637—712).

A. Commercial connections with India—Arab merchants sailed from Siraf and Hurmuz in the Persian Gulf, coasting along till they came to the mouth of the Indus, and thence on to Sapera and Cambay; or they even struck boldly across from their harbours at Kalhat and Kurayyat in Oman to Calicut and other ports on the Malabar Coast. These traders brought back tidings of the wealth and luxury of India, of gold and diamonds, jewelled idols, and a wonderful civilisation. At a time when the armies of Islam were over-running the known world, such a field of operations as India could not be over-looked.

B. Causes of the Late Conquest of India—In the first place, when the armies of the Arabs spread out over the ancient world in the seventh century, they overcame most human obstacles, but nature itself was sometimes impregnable. Just as the inhospitable desert of the Sahara and the Atlantic ocean checked their expansion to the South and the west respectively, the presence of natural barriers along the north-west frontier of India barred the progress of the Arabs who were not hardy mountaineers like the Tartars and the Turks. "In the East they trampled over Persia as far as the great rivers of Central Asia; but the icy walls of the Hindu Kush saved India. A famous Arab general subdued Bokhara and Samarkand, but he did not venture to surmount the snows that barred the way into Hindustan.

The Arabs never opened that perilous north-west passage which has poured so many foreign hordes into the teeming plains below". (Lane-Poole). Secondly, they had, therefore, to attempt the conquest of India by sea, and for this they had to wait for such a stage in their maritime development as would enable them to invade India by sea. Naturally, therefore, they had to attempt the conquest of India late. Thirdly, the Arabs had attempted conquests over on extensive region in the West as well as in the East, and they were not numerous enough for the conquest of so wide a region. Fourthly, as seen above, owing to the division among the Caliphs, the Caliphs of Baghdad had pressing affairs at home which prevented their attention from being concentrated on the conquest of India. Lastly, the individual adventurers who ventured upon the invasion and conquest of India, did not receive the necessary, adequate support from the Caliphs. Hence, their early invasions were of a plundering character.

C. **Plundering Expeditions**—The first expedition was in 637 during the reign of Caliph Omar, the second successor of Muhamad the Prophet. This was a mere pillaging expedition which visited Thana near the present Bombay. Many other forays followed during which they made descents on Sind by sea, "for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia." (Elphinstone, p. 307). "The Caliph Omar, however, had a great dislike of naval expeditions and discouraged them as much as possible." Though several detachments were also sent through the south of Mekran during the reigns of early Caliphs, they seem all to have failed from the desert character of the country, which was known for the sufferings of Alexander's army.

2. The Period of Conquest (712—750).

A. **Causes of Conquest**—The wealth of India which attracted foreigners in general must have attracted the Arabs too. "From the first India must have seemed a tempting prey to the aggressive Arabs." (Irvine). Secondly, their religious zeal to spread Islam led them to India. Thirdly, they were helped by favourable conditions in India. The Hindu rulers had oppressed

the various tribes of the Indus valley, and the Jats and Medes and other tribes were therefore on the side of the invaders. "The work of conquest, as often happened in India, was thus aided by the disunion of the inhabitants, and jealousies of race and creed conspired to help the Muslims." (Lane-Poole, p. 10).

B. Course of Conquest—In spite of the unwillingness of the Caliph, Al-Hajjaj, the Governor of Chaldæa, sent his own cousin Mohammad-bin Kasim to India in 712. He besieged and captured Daibul, "the great mediæval port of the Indus valley, the forerunner of Karachi." He then marched up to Multan and captured it with the result that the Indus valley lay at the feet of the conqueror, and the tribes, oppressed by the Hindu rulers, readily submitted to him.

C. Arab Rule (of Kasim)—To suppliants Kasim gave liberal terms. He imposed the customary poll-tax, took hostages for good conduct, and spared the people's lands and lives, even leaving their shrines undesecrated. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 10). Though occasional desecration of Hindu shrines took place, the Muhammadan rule of Multan was at once tolerant and economic. The citizens and villagers were allowed to furnish the tax-collectors themselves; the Brahmans were protected and entrusted with high offices, for which their education made them indispensable.

3. The Decline of the Arab Rule in India.

A. The Causes of the Decline of the Arab Rule—After the expedition under Kasim we hear of no reinforcements. The province was not only imperfectly subdued but extremely poor, and the Caliphs abandoned it in all but name as too unremunerative to be worth maintaining. The Arab settlers formed independent dynasties at Multan and at the new city of Mansura which the conqueror's son had founded. The traveller Ibn-Haukal explored Sind where he heard Arabic and Sindi spoken, and observed much friendly toleration between the Muslim and Hindu population.

B. The Causes of the Arab Failure—The Arabs had conquered Sind, but the conquest was only an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results. Various

causes contributed to the Arab failure in India. In the first place, their Indus province of Sind, though as large as England, consisted chiefly of deserts, and the Arabs made no attempt to cross the deserts and enter the fertile plains to the east. Secondly, perhaps the failure may be partly accounted for by the disparity in civilisation and religion between the Arabs and the Indians. "It has been supposed that the crude civilisation and austere creed of the Muslims stood paralyzed in face of the rich and ancient culture, the profound philosophy, and the sensual ritual of the Hindus; but these contrasts did not check the later successes of Islam in the same land." (Lane-Poole). A third explanation is supplied by Elphinstone who says (p. 313), "The spirit of their government was gradually altered. Their chiefs, from fanatical missionaries, became politic sovereigns, more intent on the aggrandisement of their families than the propagation of their faith." However effective these three causes might have been, the real causes of their failure must be sought elsewhere. At the outset it must be observed that the Arabs attacked India from the wrong quarter unlike other invaders and they entered on the least productive and out-of-the way province of Sind. Secondly, the central Muhammadan power, the Caliphs, did not help these pioneers of Islam in India by sending adequate forces needed for so formidable a project as the conquest of India. And, lastly, the fact must not be ignored that there lay strong Rajput kingdoms to the north and to the east of the Arab province of Sind in Malwa and Rajputana, whose strength was as yet unbroken. It was thus due to a variety of causes that the Arabs failed where the Turks succeeded.

CHAPTER II. THE AFGHAN OR TURKISH PERIOD

[Lane Poole, Ch. II and III; Elphinstone, Bk. V, Ch. III and IV; *Imperial Gazetteer*; Vol. II. pp, 351—355; V. Smith, *Oxford Indian History*, pp. 190—194 and 217—222.]

1. The House of Ghazni (1000—1186).

A. Its Establishment—(1) In the tenth century a Turkish slave, *Alptagin*, falling out with his lord, the fifth Samanid ruler of Northern Persia, established himself with 2000 followers in the fortress of Ghazni in the heart of the Afghan mountains between Kabul and Kandahar, and founded the Ghazni kingdom. (2) His fourth successor *Sabuktagin* consolidated this kingdom, and extended its eastern frontier to Peshawar by annexing the Kabul valley and its western frontier by taking the province of Seistan on the Persian side, and placed his son Mahmud in command of the rich province of Khurasan. "Sabuktagin was the first Muslim who attempted the invasion of India from the north-west." His repeated defeat of Jaipal, the Hindu Raja of the Punjab in the Kabul valley ended only in the temporary submission of the Indian king and the payment of tribute; but it "pointed the way into Hindustan." (3) On his death in 998, his son Mahmud carried out his large and daring schemes. Mahmud had all his father's energy and spirit of command, joined to a restless activity, a devouring ambition, and the temper of a zealot.

B. Causes of tha Turkish Invasions—The condition which necessitated their movement was the want of new lands for the overflow of population. The political condition of the Iranian plateau and of Indian plains helped this migration. On the fall of the Omayyad line of Caliphs, the Arab empire was greatly weakened by the introduction of Persian ideas, officials and systems, and as a consequence Persian governors aquired almost independent power in the more distant provinces and began to found hereditary dynasties, one of the most powerful and enlightened of which was that of the Samanid princes in the country about the Oxus. In Hindustan and the Indus

valley, on the fall of the empire of Harsha which meant the failure of the last attempt of the Hindus to attain political unity in northern India, different small kingdoms rose on its ruins, which were always at war against one another. Due to the increase of Persain influence and the constant jealousies among the Arab tribes settled in Mesopotamia, the Caliphs provided themselves with a guard of mercenaries of the warlike and handsome Turks, closely attached to the throne, and gradually they became the masters of the Caliphs and attracted more from Central Asia.

C. Mahmud's Invasions of India—Mahmud, the greatest Muhammadan ruler of his time, began early in his reign a long series of incursions into India, the first in 999, the last in 1025-7, entering India no less than fifteen times in the twenty-eight years out of his reign (998-—1030). In his *first* expedition (1001) he defeated Jaipal in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, and took him prisoner with his sons. Jaipal was subsequently released on payment of a large ransom. But, disgraced in the eyes of his countrymen by his defeat and captivity, the old king made over his kingdom to his son Anangapal, mounted the pyre, and perished in the flames. His *second* expedition (1004) was against the petty Raja of Bhatia, and his *third* (1006) against the Afghan ruler of Multan, who had formed a close alliance with Anangapal, who agreed to pay an annual tribute. His *fourth* expedition (1008) was directed against Anangapal. The Hindus made a common cause, and the kings of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjer, Kanouj, Delhi, and Ajmer sent troops to help Anangapal. But they were defeated by him. He took the strong fortress of Nagarkot, on a mountain connected with the lower range of Himalaya, and returned to Ghazni laden with booty. (Elphinstone, p. 330). The next important campaign is the *ninth* (1017), directed against Kanouj, a magnificant city. On the submission of the king, Rajyapal, the city was spared. (Splendour of Kanouj, Elphinstone, p. 332). His *tenth* expedition (1022) is the most important of all. Jaipal II was defeated, Lahore was annexed and garrisoned: "the first instance of a permanent garrison on

the east of the Indus, and the foundation of the future Muhammadan empire in India." The *twelfth* expedition to Somnath (in 1024) is celebrated as the model of a religious invasion. It was the most fruitful in plunder and the most memorable of them all. He died on April 30th, 1030.

D. Results of His Invasions—Permanent absorption of conquered Indian territory does not seem to have presented itself to Mahmud's mind. Hence his unceasing activity and marvellous success in war did not result in imposing Muhammadan dominion on any part of India, beyond the confines of the comparatively small north-western corner adjoining his own territory. The Punjab seems to have felt his influence most, and it was held henceforth by the Ghaznavi kings as the frontier province of their realm. In the ruin which soon overtook the dynasty, Muhmud's feeble successors, on the loss of their ancestral capital, moved to Lahore (1160), where they continued to reign obscurely until finally set aside there also (1186) by the Ghori kings, their supplanters at Ghazni.

E. An Estimate of Mahmud's work and character—

(*a*). **His Greatness**—"Mahmud was a just sovereign, a lover of learning, a man of generous nature, and of pure faith. The man who could so create and develop a centre of civilisation was no barbarian" (Lane-Poole p. 32). Sultan Mahmud was perhaps the most daring general of his age, and his energy, resource, and determination command our admiration (Dutt). "The real source of his glory lay in his combining the qualities of a warrior and a conqueror, with a zeal for the encouragement of literature and arts, which was rare in his time, and has not yet been surpassed" (Elphinstone, p. 341). (For the names of literary men at his court, see Lanepoole, p. 30. For a discussion on his motive—plunder or propagation, see Elphinstone, p. 344. For his University, see Elphinstone, p. 341).

(*b*). **His Weakness**—Mahmud was, however, no constructive or far-seeing statesman. We hear of no laws or institution or methods of government that sprang from his initiative.

To organise and consolidate was not in his scheme (Lane-Poole, p. 33). "So far as India was concerned Mahmud was simply a bandit operating on a large scale, who was too strong for the Hindu Rajas, and was in consequence able to inflict much irreparable damage. He did not attempt to effect any permanent conquest except in the Punjab, and his raids had no lasting results in the interior beyond the destruction of life, property and priceless monuments". (Smith,, p. 194).

2. The House of Ghor (1186—1206).

A. Its Establishment—A petty kingdom had for many years existed in Ghor, the country between Ghazni and Herat. Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, son of Sam, succeeded to the throne in 1162, and in 1173 he annexed Ghazni, leaving his younger brother Muizz-ud-din Muhammad in command of the conquered territory. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 47).

B. Invasions of Muhmud of Ghor—For more than a century there had been, if not peace, at least little war. The province of the Punjab had been left to itself by the later Ghazni kings. Like Mahmud of Ghazni, Mahmud of Ghor also ravaged Hindustan for thirty years in the same way. (a) *His Early Campaigns*—Against Muslims (1175—1191). His first object was to gather the Muhmmadan provinces of the Punjab and Sind under his control. In 1175 he captured the Arab colony of Daibul and of Multan. By 1182 the whole of Sind was subdued. In 1179 he took Peshawar and in 1184 ravaged the territory of Lahore and fortified Sialkot. In 1186 with the help of the Gakkars, the last Ghazni king Kusru Malik, who had retired to Lahore on the loss of Ghazni, besieged Sialkot. The Ghorian out-manœuvred him by a trick, and getting between Khusru and his capital compelled him to surrender. Together with his son he was imprisoned at Firoz-koh the capital of Mahmud and in 1191 put to death. He had thus rid himself of all Muslim rivals in India. He could now turn to the Hindus. (b) *His Later Campaigns*—Against the Hindu kingdoms (1191—1206). In 1191 he seized and garrisoned Sirhind which brought him into collision with Prithvi Raja, the

chief of the Chauhan dynasty of the Rajputs at Delhi and Ajmere. (Lane-Poole p. 50). The latter formed a league, Jayachandra of Kanouj holding aloof. In the first battle of Tarain, near Panipat, the first great clash of Musalman and Rajput—the Rajputs routed the army of Ghor in 1191. Next year he returned with a mightier host of 120,000 Afghans, Turks and Persians. Prithvi Raja, after taking Sirhind, waited for his enemy at Tarain. In the second battle, the Rajputs were decisively defeated which resulted in the annexation of Ajmere, Hansi, and Sirsuti, and in a ruthless slaughter and a general destruction of temples and idols, and the building of mosques. Ajmere was left in charge of a son of the late Raja, as a vassal of the Sultan, and Kutb-ud-din, a slave of Mahmud Ghori, was appointed Viceroy of India. In 1193 Mahmud defeated the powerful Rathors on the Jumna and annexed Marwar and Kanouj. Jayachandra being slain, Kutb-ud-din reduced Kalinjar, Malwa and Gujarat, and Mahmud Baktiyar conquered western Bengal.

C. **Decay of the House of Ghor**—Failure of Ghor's campaigns in the Oxus valley, the sucessful revolt of Ghazni, Multan, Lahore, and the sudden murder of Ghor by the Gakkars in 1206, brought about the fall of the house of Ghor. Though the house of Ghor relapsed into insignificance, the dominion he had conquered in India was not lost to Islam. It was consolidated under other rulers, and from Ghor's days to the catastrophe of the Indian mutiny there was always a Muhammadan king upon the throne of Delhi.

BOOK III

THE MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA (1206—1526)

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

1. The Characteristic Features of the Period.

A. The Continuity of "Indian" India—The people of India have not changed in any essential characteristic since the dawn of history. They have witnessed the successive inroads of horde of invading foreigners, and have incorporated some part of each new element into their ancient system. They have obeyed the king, whether Aryan, Persian, Greek, Hun, Rajput, Afghan, Turk, Mughal and English, with the same inveterate resignation, contented or at least not very discontented with their immemorial village system and district government, which corrected to some extent the contrasts of successive foreign innovators. The difference caused in the rayat's life by a good or a bad king is too slight to be worth troubling about.

B. The Biographical Character of the History of this Period—In tracing the history of the three centuries of predominant Turkish rule in India from the accession of Kutbuddin the Slave in 1206 to that of Babar the Mughal in 1526, we shall have little to say about anything but a few conspicuous men. "History in the East does not mean the growth of constitutions, the development of civic rights, the vindication of individual liberty, or the evolution of self-government. These are Western ideas which have no meaning in India. If translated into Hindustani they represent nothing that the natural Hindu comprehends or desires." (Lane-Poole, p. 60). To the Indian, power is a divine gift, to be exercised absolutely by God's

anointed, and obeyed unquestioned by everyone else. Let the king be strong and he may do as he pleases: but the weak sovereign rarely keeps his throne long, and keeps it only by force of traditional loyalty or dread of the risks of revolution. With such a political temperament the Indian habitually obeyed the despotism of the paramount monarch. In the history of Muhammadan India, then, we have to deal with kings and their works. This gives a biographical feature to the history of the Muhammadan period.

C. The Pre-eminence of the Kingdom of Delhi—From the very commencement of the Muhammadan rule in Northern India, the kings of Delhi asserted and from to time enforced their suzerainty over all the other Muhammadan States of Northern India. This was made possible owing to three causes. Geographically, Delhi, unlike Taxila, Peshawar, and Pataliputra, occupied a central position for efficient administration of the conquered territories. Secondly, Delhi was for centuries looked upon as *the* capital of India in the period of Hindu ascendancy and the consequent prestige of Delhi as the seat of paramount lord of India. It is the same historical prestige of Delhi that has made it the present capital of India. Thirdly, among the Sultans of Delhi there were some men of skill and abilty unlike those of the outlying kingdoms of Northern India.

D. The Character of the Rulers and Dynasties—During the period of three centuries, there were five dynasties and thirty-four Kings of Delhi. Of these only three dynasties attained some importance, and only twelve kings stand out with any distinctness and really deserve notice. It may be noted that in each of these three dynasties, there was one conspicuously remarkable figure—among the Slave kings, there was Balban, "the man of action"; among the Khilji's, we have Alauddin, "the crude but daring political economist"; and among the Taglaks, there was Muhammad Taglak, "the man of ideas," "the madcap". The reigns of Sultans are particularly short—on an average 9½ years for each of the 34 kings. In the Hindu period the average was about 25 years and in the Mughal period 18 years. Dynasties are set aside not by external pressure of

some foreign or other Indian powers, but by internal intrigues ending in either deposition or death. This period is also characterised by the presence of three constant dangers—rebellions of the servants of the Sultans; revolt of their Hindu subjects, especially the Rajputs; and constant invasions of the Mughals.

E. The Caste of Islam—The caste system had accustomed Indians to immovable barriers between classes, and though the Muslim kings had no claim of pedigree and not much distinction of ceremonial purity, they formed in a way a caste, the caste of Islam, a fellowship of equal brotherhood unsurpassed in coherence and strength in all the world. The great power of Islam as a missionary influence in India has been due to the benefits of this caste. The moment an Indian accepts Islam he enters a brotherhood which admits of no distinctions of class in the sight of God, and every advancement in office and rank and marriage is open to him.

2. The Causes of the Success of Islam in India.

A. The Strength of the Muhammadans—The essential union of the Muslims as a conquering caste was indeed the chief cause of their successful hold of the vastly preponderating multitudes they governed. Their power in India was always that of an armed camp, but it was a camp in which all the soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder for the same cause, in which all were equal brothers. Secondly, the very bigotry of their creed was an instrument of self-preservation; in mere self-defence they must hold together as God's elect in the face of the heathen, and they must win over proselytes from the Hindus, whether by persuasion or by the sword, to swell their isolated minority. Hence the solidarity and the zeal which, added to their greater energy and versatility, gave the Muslims their superiority over natives who were sometimes their equals in courage, though never in unity, in enthusiasm, or in persistence. Thirdly, the Muslims had the immense resource of being able to draw continually and in unlimited numbers upon the recruiting grounds of the Muhammadan countries beyond it, which were always reinforcing their co-religionists by fresh bodies of hardy

adventurers. Lastly, when the invaders were led by kings who embodied the spirit of adventure, and of militant propaganda, their triumph was assured.

B. The Weakness of the Hindus—In the first place, the clannishness of the Hindus, their devotion to local chiefs, and their ineradicable jealousies of each other, prevented anything approaching national partiotism. Secondly, their religious system, which rested upon birth and race and class, whilst precluding the very idea of proselytism, deprived them of the fanatical zeal of their Mussalman enemies. Thirdly, the long residence in the fertile plains of India produced the lethargy of self-indulgence, and made the Hindus unable to face the hardy mountaineers. Fourthly, "their flesh diet as compared with the vegetarian habits prevalent in India, combined with their freedom from the restrictions of caste rules concerning food, tended to develop the kind of energy required by an invading force." (*Oxford History*, p. 257). Fifthly, the Hindu strategy and tactics were old-fashioned, based on ancient text-books, which took no account of foreign methods; and the unity of command on the Indian side was always more or less hampered by tribal, sectarian and caste divisions. The Muhammadan cavalry was superior to the Hindu elephants. (Read Smith, pp. 257—58). Lastly, they were always on the defensive, and except behind ramparts the defensive position is the weaker part. Owing to the cumulative effect of all these causes, the Mussalmans succeeded in planting Islam on the Indian soil.

3. Divisions of the History of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Ch. II.
1. Origin of the Kingdom—The Slave Kings (1206—1290).
2. Growth of the Kingdom--The Khilji Kings (1290—1320).

Ch. III.
1. Beginning of Decline--The Early Toglak Kings (1320—1388).
2. Progress of Decline—The Sayyid Kings (1414—1451).
3. Fall of the Kingdom—The Lodi Kings (1451—1526).

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE KINGDOM OF DELHI

[J. D. Rees, *The Muhammadans* (Epochs of Indian History), Ch. III; Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, Ch. IV and V; Keene, *History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. III, Sec. 2 and 3; Elphinstone, Book VI; Ch. I and II; Smith, *Oxford History*, Bk. IV, Ch. 1—3]

1. Origin of the Sultanate of Delhi—The Slaves.

A. The Mamluk Succession—Mamluks were Turkish slaves. In the time of Muhamud of Ghazni, the Turks as a nation had not adopted the faith of Muhamud, but the Mamluks were invariably forced or willing converts to Islam. After the conquest of Transoxiana by Muhamud, large numbers of Turks had been employed in the business of government and in offices of trust both military and civil, and the guards of the kings of the day were chiefly composed of Turkish Slaves or Mamluks. Thus society was composed of widely varying elements, which acted and reacted one upon another. The Turks were brave, hardy and obedient; the Arabs proud, violent, and fanatical; and the Persians were artful and ingenious, polished and untrustworthy. "Whatever may be said against the slave system, in the East it tends to the production of great men." (Lane-Poole, p. 64). While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved the equals of their master. The reason of course is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents; even if he does, the very success and power of the father create an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort; and good or bad, the son is an immovable fixture. On the other hand, the slave is the 'survival of the fittest'; he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting, his fate is sealed. The famous Seljuk empire furnished a notable example of the influence of a great man upon his slaves. The Mamluk guard of the emperor Malik Shah formed a school of capable rulers. However servile in

origin, the pedigree carried with it no sense of ignominy. In the East a slave is often held to be better than a son, and to have been the slave of Malik Shah constituted a special title to respect. The great slave vassals of the Seljuks were as proud and honourable as any Bastards of mediaeval aristocracy; and when they in turn assumed kingly powers, they inherited and transmitted to their lineage the high traditions of their former lords. The same process was seen in the great slave leaders who were among the earliest Mamluk Sultans of Egypt in the thirteenth century; and an equally conspicuous example is found in India in the slaves of Mohamud Ghori. The Mamluk Sultans of Egypt soon retook all the conquests of the Crusaders, and in 1291 Acre, their last remaining stronghold fell, and the Christian Churches of Syria were demolished. Eighty-five years before this event in the west, the Mamluks established themselves at Delhi in 1206.

B. Establishment of the Slave Dynasty—Kutbuddin (1206—10) From the date of the dissolution of the House of Ghor, India became an independent Kingdom, and ceased to have any connection with countries west of the Indus. On the death of Muhamad of Ghor, his able slave Kutbuddin, his Indian viceroy, became an independent Sultan at Delhi in 1206. Thus was established the Slave dynasty and the first Muhammadan kingdom of Indian history with Delhi as its capital. "At length in 1206 India had a Muhammadan king of its own, ruling not from an outside capital but in India itself". Kutbuddin was brave and accomplished. He reigned in Delhi twenty-four years, during twenty of which he was the representative of the king of Ghor. From 1206 to 1210, he ruled as the independent Sultan of Delhi. Kutbuddin and his fellow marshal Mohamad Bakhtiyar, the governor of Bengal, had completed the successes of Muhamud Ghori, and nearly all Hindustan north of the Vindhya range was under Muslim sway at the accession of Kutbuddin in 1206. He completed the work of Ghori in subduing and conquering the Rajputs. According to Hasan Nizami who wrote at Delhi in Kutbuddin's time, he administered his wide provinces in the ways of justice and the people were happy.

Tribute and military service were exacted as the price of toleration. The roads were freed from robbers, and the Hindus both "high and low were treated with royal benignity." So munificent was he that he was called "Lakshbakhsh" or "Giver of lacs". Among the architectural beauties of his reign are the Kutb-Minar, near Delhi, which still preserves the name of his incompetent son, and the mosques of Ajmir and Delhi. (Lane-Poole, p. 68). Though a staunch Muslim and though policy dictated toleration in the case of powerful Hindu vassals, he was a mighty "fighter in the way of God", That he was a good sportsman is evidenced by the manner of his death, from a fall at polo in 1210. His death was followed by a time of confusion. An incompetent son opened the way to rivals. Kubacha held Multan and Sind to the mouth of the Indus, and strove with Yildiz, Ghori's slave governor in the Afghan mountains, for the possession of Lahore. Bakhtiyar's successor became supreme in Bihar and Bengal. Altamish, a slave of his, deposing his master's son, took the throne of Delhi for himself.

C. Growth of the Power of the Slave Dynasty—Altamish (1210—36)—Altamish is the true founder of the dynasty of the Slave Kings, which Kutbuddin did not live long enough to consolidate. He is said to have been of noble family, and to have been sold by slave brokers for no less than 50,000 pieces of silver on account of his personal beauty. His contemporary, Minhaj-as-siraj, says he was unequalled in beauty, virtue, intelligence, and nobleness of character. "No king so benevolent, sympathetic, reverent to the learned and the old, ever rose by his own efforts to the cradle of empire." What Kutbuddin had been to Muhamud Ghori, Altamish was to Kutbuddin, who used him like a son. When Kutbuddin's son proved unfit to rule, the chiefs of the army begged Altamish to take the throne. Yildiz, ruling at Ghazni, seeing the wisdom of conciliation, sent him the sceptre and umbrella of state; but Kubacha refused to surrender Lahore, and it was only in 1217 that Altamish obtained possession of the northern Punjab by the defeat of his rival. It was during his reign that the storm of the Mongols under Chengiz Khan appeared in India in 1221;

but they only wintered in the north-west and then retired: fortunately for India their eyes were turned westward. Out of this turmoil Altamish emerged stronger than before. In 1225 Altamish marched into Bengal and received the homage of the governor. The whole of Kutbuddin's dominions were now in his hands, and in 1234 expeditions into Malwa as far as Ujjain, completed the submission of all India north of the Vindhyas. (Map No. 8 Joppen's Atlas). The strength and prestige of the Kingdom of Delhi attracted the notice of the Caliph of Bagdad, who sent an embassy in 1229 to invest Altamish with the robe of office as recognised sovereign of India. This urged him to add to his long title on his coins the proud title of "Aid of the Commander of the Faithful." Altamish was the first to introduce a purely Arabic coinage, and to adopt as his standard coin the silver tanka, the ancestor of the rupee, weighing 175 grains. Later on, Balban introduced gold tankas of the same weight. (Lane-Poole, p. 73).

D. Weakness of the Slave Dynasty—From the death of Altamish in 1236 to the accession of Balban in 1266, the kingdom was weakened by the hereditary succession of the children of Altamish. *Firoz Shah* (1236), the first son, was a vicious and incapable ruler, and his mother, a Turkish slave, managed the Government. But her savage cruelty caused a general revolt which ended in the imprisonment of both and the death of Firoz after a nominal reign of not quite seven months. In his place, his sister *Raziya* (1236-40), named as his heir by her father, was elected. She was a great monarch, wise, generous and just. But the Turkish chiefs could not be convinced that a woman could or should lead them. Her fall—(Lane-Poole, p. 76). She was followed by *Bahram* her brother, and *Masud*, her nephew. The former ruled only two years (1240-1242) which were spent in plots and counter-plots. The second (1242-46) acquired the habit of seizing and killing his nobles and spent his time in abandoned pleasures. The Moghuls again appeared in India and had massacred the inhabitants of Lahore in 1241, and established themselves on the Indus with easy appearance of permanent conquest. Strong and able rulers

were required by the times, and happily at this juncture another remarkable slave came to the rescue of the State—Balban—the greatest of the Slave Kings of Delhi. But *Nasir-ud-din* (1246-1266) another son of Altamish, ruled in name with his able minister Balban, one of the famous corps of forty Turkish slaves of Altamish. Balban defeated the Mughals and his successes in battle aroused the envy of some of nobles, especially of Raihan a Hindu convert, who had gained the ear of the Sultan. He was dismissed in 1253; but his services in maintaining order among the Rajput neighbours, enabled him to be recalled, and on the death of the Sultan, Balban ascended the throne. (For the character of Nasir-ud-din, see Rees, p. 64).

E. Zenith of the Slave Dynasty-Balban (1266-1287)-

(*a*) Source of information—Zia-ud-din Barni, who wrote nearly a hundred years later, is the authority for Balban's reign; and "the fact of his not being quite contemporaneous frees him from the suspicion of flattery." (Keene, p. 49). His record was a labour of love, designed, avowedly, as a continuation of the Tabakat, to which, hitherto, we have been mainly indebted. Barni asserts that he wrote the account of Balban's reign from information delivered to him by his own grand-father and others who had held high offices of state during the period. (*b*) His Accession—He was already about sixty years old when he became Sultan in 1266. His personal name was Ulagh Khan, of the ancient stock of the Turkish Kakans of Albari, who had been sold to Sultan Altamish by slave-dealers, with a number of other young Turkomans, in 1232. Under Sultana Raziya, Ulagh had risen to be grand huntsman. Obtaining the fiefs of Riwari and Hansi, he was made Chamberlain by Sultan Masud. He had put down the insurrections of the Hindus, in Mewat and the Doab, and in 1245 he had repulsed the Mongol attack on the Punjab. On the death of the puppet Nasir-ud-din, Ulagh Khan assumed the power of Sultan with the title of Ghayas-ud-din Balban, by which he is best known in history, (*c*) His Royal creed—His creed was that monarchs could be saved only by the exercise of four duties. (Rees, p. 65) They must assume dignity and exercise power at proper seasons;

punish immorality and indecency; select good men as the officers of justice; and be patient and just themselves in its administration.
(*d*) His Policy and Work—"The energetic minister became an implacable king." With ambitious Turkish Khans treading on his heels, Hindus everywhere ready to revolt, marauders infesting the country even to the very gates of Delhi, and above all the Mongols ever hammering on the frontier posts, Balban had reason to be stern and watchful. (1) He suppressed with an iron hand the forrays of the hillmen who terrified the country; he sent his armies to the jungles about Delhi, destroyed the villages, cleared the forest, built forts in disturbed parts and established Afghan garrisons. Woodcutters were sent to cut roads through the jungles, and the roadmaking did more to bring order among the wild tribes than even the massacre of their fighting men. In spite of the suffering involved, such work as this was of lasting benefit to the kingdom. (2) Another direction in which he turned his stern hand was towards the Turkish landholders. Though these men were of his own kindred, he had no mercy for them and he did much to deprive the Turks of their former power. Many instances are recorded of his terrible severity towards officers whose conduct gave occasion for the exercise of stern justice. (3) However, Balban's one absorbing preoccupation was the danger of a Mongol invasion. For this cause, he organised and disciplined his army to the highest point of efficiency and he made away with disaffected or jealous chiefs, and steadily refused to entrust authority to Hindus. (Lane-Poole, p. 83). (4) The subjection of Bengal is the only distant expedition the Sultan made. Fifteen governors had successively ruled Bengal since Bakhtiyar the Khilji first carried the standard of Muhamud Chori, and their authority had been little curbed by the Delhi Sultans, especially because of its distance from Delhi. Tughril, the fifteenth governor, observing that Balban was now an old man, assumed the style and insignia of sovereignty. The first army sent against him was defeated, as much perhaps by gold as by steel, and many of the Delhi troops deserted to the camp of Tughril. A second expedition also met with the same fate. Overwhelmed with shame

and anger, the old Sultan himself led a third expedition and in a daring and successful campaign routed the governor. The rebels were brutally hanged in Tughril's capital, Lakhnauti. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 86). (5) The last event of his reign was the invasion of the Mongols. They were successfully resisted by Balban's son, Mohammad, in battle near Dipalpur in 1285; but the son himself was slain in battle. (Rees, p. 68) The news of his death killed his father in 1286, now breaking with the burden of age and a long reign of forty years, half as minister, half as king. (e) Estimate of Balban's greatness—"No one understood better than he the conditions of kingship in India, or how to impose himself upon his subjects. Slave as he was once, he came of a race of chiefs, and no one showed more sensitiveness in preserving the dignity of a king. Balban, the slave, water-carrier, huntsman, general, statesman, and Sultan is one of the most striking figures among many notable men in the long line of the kings of Delhi." (Lane-Poole, p. 88). However horrible the cruelty of Balban may appear, it served its purpose and maintained a certain degree of order in rough times. When he died, all security of life and property was lost, and no one had any confidence in the stability of the kingdom.

F. End of the Slave Kings–Kaikobad (1286-1290)—Balban left no heir fit to succeed him. In those days of no definite rule of succession the nobles were accustomed to select whom they pleased by a rough election. Kaikobad, a grandson of Balban, aged about eighteen years, son of the governor of Bengal, was placed on the throne. He disgraced himself by scandalous debauchery, and neglected public affairs. The military chiefs revolted. Of these, the greatest were the Khiljis. Kaikobad was beaten to death in 1290, and the Slave dynasty ended. Balban's hopes of establishing a dynasty were thus frustrated. The Sultans of the dynasty took no account of anybody except the small minority of Muhammadan followers on whose swords the existence of the dynasty depended. "The army," says the historian, "is the source and means of government." Naturally such rulers made no attempt to solve the problems of

civil government. Politically, they acquired a tolerably firm hold on the regions now called the Panjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, with Bihar, Gwaliar, Sindh, and some part of Rajputana and Central India. Their control of the Panjab was disputed by the Mongols, from the time of Chengiz Khan (1221). Bengal was practically independent, although Balban's severeties enforced formal submission to the suzerainty of Delhi and the occasional payment of tribute. Malwa, Gujarat, and all the rest of India continued to be governed by numerous Hindu monarchs of widely varying importance to whom the tragedies of the Sultanate were matters of indifference.

2. The Growth of the Kingdom of Delhi–The Khiljis.

A. The Khiljis---Besides the Turks who had held most of the offices of state since the days of Kutbuddin, there were a large number of adventurers of other races in the service of tha Slave Kings, Many of these were Afghans, or Turks so mixed and associated with Afghans that they had absorbed their character and customs. These were known as Pathans. The clan of Khiljis, named after the Afghan village of Khilji, though probably of Turkish origin, had become Afghan in character, and between them and the Turks there was no love lost. Khiljis had conquered Bengal and ruled there, and they held many posts in other parts. These formed a strong party, and rallied round Jalal-ud-din, the muster-master or adjutant-general. The Khilji dynasty lasted thirty years, and included six sovereigns; and amongst them was one great ruler, whose reign of twenty years contributed powerfully to the extension of the Muslim dominion in India. During the Period of the Slave kings, "the Hindus had been ill-treated; but their ill-treatment was less the result of religious persecution than of stern political repression. Chafing under the yoke of foreign conquest, they persisted in rebellion; and the Mamluks put them down in the manner then universally adopted. With the accession of the Khiljis a new system began, which destroyed the country and slowly sapped the Muslim power." (Keene).

B. Establishment of the Dynasty—Jalal-ud-din (1290—1296)—On the death of Kaikobad, the reaction against the Turks and Turkish vazir, brought the Khiljis to power, and Jalal-ud-din was set upon the throne of Delhi. He was very kind and merciful to all fellow-Muslims, robbers and murderers. His nephew, Ala-ud-din, governor of Karra, on the Jumna, cherished the design of making himself king. In order to find the sinews of war, he set out secretly on an expedition against Devagiri, the Yadava capital, and carried away much of its treasure. The way to the south, thus opened, was never again shut. Having invited his aged uncle to his camp, he treacherously murdered him. (Lane-Poole, p. 93).

C. Zenith of the Dynasty—Ala-ud-din (1296-1316)—Having accomplished the murder of his uncle, Ala-ud-din marched upon Delhi, and enticed by his gold, the soldiers flocked to his standard. If Ala-ud-din obtained power by evil means, he used it with vigour and effect, in spite of being totally illiterate. His Conquests—He began with reducing Malwa and Rajputana: he captured Rantambhor in 1300 and Chitor in 1303. From 1307 to 1311 Malik Kafur, a great favourite of the Sultan, was employed in campaigns in the South. In 1307 he reduced Devagiri, which failed to pay its promised tribute, and took the Kakatiya capital of Warangal in 1310, and the Hoysala city of Dwarasamudra in 1311. He marched along the Malabar coast as far south as Rameshwaram or Adam's Bridge opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque. Even Madura was plundered by him. He returned to Delhi with vast treasures—elephants, horses, jewels and gold. He put down many revolts among his nobles, and also defeated the Mughals near Delhi in 1298. The Mughals reappeared in 1303 and caused great alarm due to the capital Delhi being not well defended, but they retired without venturing to attack. His Reforms—With the object of curbing the spirit of the people, maintaining an efficient standing army against the Mughals and putting all the defences on the road to Delhi in thorough order, he introduced the following reforms—the assessment on cultivated fields was raised to one half of the produce; new taxes were levied on domestic animals: the lands given

away as grants by former rulers, were resumed; in order to have an abundance of supplies at cheap rates in the markets of Delhi, the dues on Crown lands were directed to be paid in kind; large granaries were erected for the storage of grain; the carriers were registered and compelled to settle in villages on the banks of the Jumna; market rates were fixed; inspectors were appointed to see that all articles were sold according to the government tariff; severe punishment was inflicted on all those detected in breaking the official regulations. He organised a universal system of espionage. (Lane-Poole, p. 102). He prohibited wine-drinking wine-selling as well as the use of beer and intoxicating drugs. Dicing was also forbidden. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 103). "By such measures as these Ala-ud-din succeeded in establishing internal order and tranquillity." (For his principles of Religion and Politics, read Lane-Poole, p. 105-108). Extent of his Empire–The Afghan empire was at its height under him. (Map No. 9, Joppen's Atlas). Estimate of his work—"Ala-ud-din with Firoz Shah, Sher Shah Sur, and Akbar, must be counted among the great administrators who have ruled in India." (Irvine). So great is the effect of vigour in a despotism, that although Ala-ud-din was ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and tyranical, yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India; and his internal administration, in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, was, on the whole, equally successful." (Elphinstone, p. 308).

D. **Decline of the Dynasty**—Ala-ud-din was succeeded by a youthful son with Malik Kafur as regent, but he was removed by an assassin, when another son Mubarak succeeded him as regent, and setting aside his ward, ruled from 1316 to 1321. He was infatuated with a vile favourite, a low-caste (pariah) Hindu of Gujarat, called by him Khusru Khan. His rule was cruel and oppressive. He flayed alive Harapala of Devagiri after suppressing his revolt in 1318, and insulted or put to death worthy Muhammadan officers. Khusru Khan filled the place with his fellow caste men, and in April 1321, murdering the Sultan, commenced to rule. He continued the oppresive rule of his master, and feared only one man, Taglak, who had kept the frontier in many a battle against the Mughal. Khusru was

attacked by this army and put to death. "Indeed he was not more than nominally a believer, and his assumption of power was a hardly disguised Hindu movement." (Keene, p. 58). As none of Ala-ud-din's stock was left and as there was none so worthy as Taglak Khan, the nobles called him to the throne with one voice. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 120).

E. Effect of Khilji Rule—The Khilji line had only ruled for thirty years, but that brief period had been one of much change. The Muslim rule had been consolidated in Hindustan, and partially extended in the Deccan. The bulk of the people, however oppressed, had become submissive subjects. Partial fusion of races created a vernacular language—Hindustani or Urdu. It soon began to be more than a mere *lingua franca* of oral communication, and to develop the germs of a national literature. The name "Urdu" is connected with the Turkish word from which we get our English "horde"; and is sufficiently indicative of the origin of the language. (Keene).

F. A New Stage in the History of Hindustan—The Ghorians, the Slaves, and the next succeeding dynasties, have received from historians the name of "The Pathan Kings of Delhi," and the name is so far useful as indicating a common origin; though, perhaps, Turkoman would have been a more exact epithet. But this foriegn stock underwent considerable decay with the fall of the Khilji line; and for the next two centuries we shall have to consider the Empire of Hindustan as ruled by Sultans who, though still professing the faith of the Arabian Prophet, were, natives of India, and—whether consciously or not—favourable, in some degree, to that fusion with the people of the country, of which we have already seen premonitory symptoms. (Keene).

CHAPTER III.

THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOM OF DELHI (1320-1526)

[By Lane-Poole, Ch. VI—VII; Keene, Ch. IV; Elphinstone, Bk, VI. Ch III].

1. Beginning of Decline—Early Tughlaks (1320-1388).

A. Establishment of the Dynasty—Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak (1320-1325)—His whole reign was as commendable as his accession was blameless. He began by restoring order in his internal administration and by putting his frontier in an effective state of defence against the Mughals. He sent his son Juna Khan to settle the Deccan where affairs had fallen into disorder. Juna's operations were successful until he reached Warangal, whose Hindu prince resisted him, but was finally defeated and taken prisoner to Delhi. Thus the Hindu kingdom of Telingana was recaptured. Tughlak Shah himself marched into Bengal and received its submission, and on his way back, he reduced Tirhut (Mithila) and took the raja prisoner. As he approached the capital he was met by his eldest son, Juna Khan, who received him with magnificence in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion. During the ceremonies the building gave way, and the king was crushed in its fall. Keene believes, and Elphinstone doubts the fact that Juna had thus planned the death of his father, (Keene, p. 61-62; Elphinstone, p. 402).

B. Growth of the Dynasty—Muhmmad Tughlak (1325-1351)—His Character—"Muhmmad Tughlak was the most striking figure in mediaeval India. He was a man with ideas far beyond his age" (Lane—Poole, p. 124). "He was a most accomplished man, well versed in letters, eloquent, liberal of disposition, gallant, moral and devout. But as a ruler his judgement was so unbalanced that his condition approached mental derangement, and in his actions he was most unjust and oppressive" (Irvine). His Projects of Conquests—He first determined on the conquest of Persia, and assembled a vast army (according to Ferishta 370,000 horse), which, after it had consumed its treasures, dispersed for want of pay, and carried

pillage aad ruin to every quarter. His next undertaking was to conquer China, and fill his exhausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy. He sent an army of 100,000 men through the Himalayas; but being exhausted they perished in the undertaking. His Economic Measures—The boundless prodigality of the Sultan, the payment of an immense sum to buy off the Mughals, and the schemes of visionary foreign conquests, ruined his finances, and urged him to try some costly experiments. Hearing of the paper currency in China, and probably also of Persia (Elphinstone p. 405), he introduced the system into his own dominions, substituting copper tokens for silver. But the king's insolvency, and the instability of his government, destroyed the credit of his tokens, and their refusal by foreign merchants brought about confusion and distress. He attempted to get 5 or 10 per cent. more tribute from the lands in the Doab, and introduced oppressive cesses which led to the ruin of the country and decay of the people. Irritated at the failure of the revenue, he hunted the wretched Hindus like wild beasts and massacred them wholesale. Remedies for distress were, however, introduced by daily distribution of food to all the people of Delhi for six months in a time of scarcity, and by organising an excellent system of government loans to agriculturists which would have been of great service but for the dishonesty of the overseers. He also attempted the change of Capital from Delhi to Deogiri (or Daulatabad), a more central position. "It was partly the melancholy condition of Hindustan, but still more the inconvenience of distant northern capital to an empire which was spreading more and more in the Deccan," that induced him to take this step. Had he contented himself with merely shifting the official capital, the change would have been reasonable and practical. But he caused much misery by the foolish attempt at transporting the whole population of Delhi summarily and *en masse* to the new capital. (Read Lane-Poole, p. 131). The measures of Muhmmad resulted in revolts within the Kingdom and the gradual reduction of its extent. The annoyance caused by all these measures and his extremely severe treatment of all who contravened

his enactment made him quite unpopular. Moreover, the provincial officers were no longer the old feudal landowners, attached by ties of race and gratitude to their Turkish sovereigns. Consequently piece by piece his empire dropped away. At first he has ruled a state wider, larger and more splendid than any of his predecessors. (Lane-Poole, p. 137). But within ten years the great fabric of his empire fell to pieces. Bengal revolted and was formed into an independent Muhammadan kingdom in 1340. Bukka Rai, the Hindu king of the Carnatic founded the Kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1344. In 1347 Zafar Khan Hasan Gangu established an independent Muhammadan kingdom in the Deccan, and founded the Bahmani Dynasty. There were insurrections in Gujarat, Malwa, and Sindh, at Lahore, at Karra and in Bidar. While still trying to quell these insurrections, Muhammad died in 1351. Estimate of his Rule—"The Mahometan empire to the east of the Indus was more extensive in the early part of this king's reign than it ever was at any other period, but the provinces now lost were not all retrieved till the time of Aurangzib; and even in those which did not revolt, the royal authority received a shock from which it did not recover till the accession of the Moghul dynasty." (Elphinstone, p. 410). "He had brought exceptional abilities and a highly cultivated mind to the task of governing the greatest Indian empire that had so far been known, and he had failed stupendously. It was a tragedy of high intentions self-defeated." (Lane-Poole, p. 138).

C. Zenith of the Dynasty—Firoz Shah III (1351-1388)—The nobles chose Firoz Shah, the cousin of Muhammad, now a man of middle life. Though unwilling to accept the honour and the danger, he was prevailed upon to do so. "He possessed in an overflowing degree the milk of human kindness, that supreme gift of the sympathy and tenderness which made the whole Indian world his kin." He had a horror of bloodshed and torture, and abhorred war. His Policy towards the Provinces—The Deccan was allowed to become independent under Hasan Gangu, whose descendants ruled all the provinces south of the Vindhyas for 180 years. In spite of his

two attempts to subdue it, Bengal remained independent. He marched against the fortress of the Jam in Thatta. During the second expedition, the chief capitulated and was led to Delhi. His Administrative System—"Firoz Shah is famous for his many excellent rules of administration, and in the histories of his reign we find the first connected account of the Muhammadan system of government in India" (Irvine, p. 365). He had the invaluable help of his wise though illiterate wazir, a converted Hindu of Telingana, named Makbul Khan, who was the real king of Delhi. (Lane-Poole, p. 142). (Details of his administration may be read in Irvine, p. 365). His Economic Policy—Finding the rayats unable to pay the agricultural loans, he cancelled the debts (Lane-Poole, 143). The sources of revenue were a share of the produce of the land as laid down by the Koran, the jizya or the poll-tax on non-Muhammadans, water-rates, and some petty cesses. "He abolished a great number of vexatious taxes and fees, put an end to all fluctuating and precarious imposts, and fixed the revenues in such a manner as to leave as little discretion as possible to the collectors, and to give precision and publicity to the demands of the state." (Elphinstone, p. 412). His Public works—He had a passion for naming and founding towns–Jaunpaur, Firozabad and Hisar Firoza (Thompson, p. 134). "The following list is given of his public works, for the maintenance of which lands were assigned:—50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation; 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 100 caravan-serais, 30 reservoirs for irrigation, 100 hospitals, 100 public baths, 150 bridges—besides many other edifices for pleasure or ornament." (Elphinstone, p. 412). He was a great patron of learning. He allowed annually more than a million pounds (36 lacs) to learned men and pious endowments. Estimate of his Rule—"The testimony of all contemporary chroniclers shows that Firoz was adored by the people." (Lane-Poole, pp. 149-350). His long reign was marked by general peace and prosperity though the empire was much diminished in extent. "Surat and Jaunpur are to be noted as the probable extremes of the Empire of Firoz." (Keene). After his reign, we witness its rapid decline.

2. The Progress of Decline and Fall (1388-1526).

A. Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Kingdom— Soon after the death of Firoz Shah in 1388, the Kingdom of Delhi, the first Muhammadan empire of India, began to fall to pieces. Bengal and the Dekhan had thrown off their allegiance to Delhi Sultans in the reign of Muhamud Tughlak, and now four independent kidgdoms were carved out of the imperial dominions. Malwa, Gujarat, Kandesh and Jaunpur. The last of the Tughlaks who died in 1414 was little more than the ruler of the districts round Delhi. Just as the Later Mauryas and the Later Guptas, the Later Afghans or Pathans ruled only a small territory round their very capital. This steady decline and fall of the Sultanate of Delhi was the result of internal as well as external causes. *(a)* Internal Causes--In the first place, the successors of Firoz Shah on the throne of Delhi were invariably weak; their reigns were short and disturbed by internal wars and foreign invasions. During the ten years following Firoz Shah's death, the throne was occupied by four princes, two of whom held authority at the capital at the same time, and for three years waged incessant wars with each other. Secondly, the impolitic measures of Firoz Shah himself led to the weakening of the authority of Delhi. The system of depending upon a powerful body of slaves for civil and mititary service led to far-reaching consequences. Many of these slaves were converted—or nominally converted— Hindus, and to some of these renegades were assigned the great fiefs of the empire. "However sincere their loyalty to Firoz, their master, they were bound by no such ties to his successors, and their influence tended to encourage that Hindu independence which had been fostered by the sultan's mild rule. The intermarriages of the royal family and other dignitaries with Hindus could produce no real amalgamation between peoples effectually sundered alike by race, religion, and social custom." Great provinces were held in fief by successful courtiers, slaves, often renegade Hindus, whose power tended to become hereditary and to develop independent dynasties. The system of assigning grants of land to public officials as salary (Jagirs) worked well in Firoz Shah's life-time; but after his death this system greatly

contributed to the break-up of the empire. Allauddin Khilji had strongly condemned this system as tending to feudal power and fostering rebellion. (Lane-Poole, p. 153). Thirdly, the Muhammadans themselves had deteriorated by their long residence in the plains of India. The Indian Muslims had grown effete. A race of conquerors had become a squabbling crowd warring against each other for the luxuries of throne, but wanting in power to hold the sceptre. The respect which belonged to a caste of foreigners who kept themselves apart and observed such strict rules of religion and social law, had been degraded, when the harems of the Muslims were filled with Indian women, when Hindus who nominally professed Islam were promoted to high offices, and when, in short, the Muhammadan domination had become the rule of the half-caste. *(b)* External Causes— A strong ruler might possibly have stemmed the tide which was engulfing the power of Delhi, but even he must have bent and broken before the storm which burst upon India during the declining period. The Moghul invasion under Timur in 1398 and the final invasion and conquest under the leadership of Babar in 1526 put an end to the first Muhammadan power of Delhi. Objects of Timur's invasion were to war with infidels for the sake of the rewards of the next world, and to seize this world's riches. Leaving Samarkand in March, 1398, he crossed the Indus at Attock, and marched to Delhi unopposed. In the battle outside Delhi Mahmud was defeated, and he fled. Then he sacked Delhi and returned with a large quantity of treasure. He entered the fort of Firozabad, stormed Mirat and massacred men, and took the women and children prisoners, and razed the town to the earth. Plundering and burning villages, seizing Nagarkot and Jammu on his way, he and his forces retreated from India. A disputed succession and confusion in Delhi brought about the complete independence of Jaunpur (1394), Gujarat (1397), and Malwa (1401). The kingdom of Delhi was only the district round it. Thus the Afghan Empire, the *first* Muhammadan Empire of Hindustan, declined under the combined effects of internal and external causes, and India was again ripe for another foreign invasion under Babar, and the invasion of Babar led to the fall of the empire in 1526.

B. The Later Tughlaks (1388-1412)—The three early Tughlaks—Ghiyas-ud-din, Muhammad and Firoz—together reigned for 68 years, while the six Later Tughlaks reigned only for 25 years. The old Sultan's grandson Ghiyas-ud-din II was young and foolish, addicted to wine and dissipation, and the amirs and palace slaves rose and killed him before he had been on the throne five months. (March, 1389). Another grandson Abu-Bekr was then raised to the throne, but was deposed. (August, 1390). Thereupon Firoz's last son Muhammad Shah secured Delhi in 1390. His four years' reign was vexed by a series of rebellions; the Hindu chiefs were everywhere in revolt, and the great feudatories wery under no control. On his death in January, 1394, his son Humayun Khan, proudly entitled "Alexander" (Sikandar Shah) came to the throne but died after a short reign of six weeks, in March 1394. After him, his brother Mahmud sat on the throne from 1394 to 1412 at Kanauj while his cousin Nasdat Khan held a rival court at Delhi; but both of them were puppets in the hands of ambitious amirs.

C. The Sayyid Dynasty (1414-1451)—After the Lodi Daulat Khan had carried on the Government for two years after Muhammad's death in 1412, Khizr Khan, the Sayyad Governor of Multan, took possession of the impoverished kingdom of Delhi. The next three rulers had the undisputed possession of only the district round the capital. Malawa, Mewat, Gwalior, and Rohilkand broke away from their control. The fourth Sayyad Alam Shah, in his weakness, submitted to be deposed by one of his nobles, Bahlol Khan Lodi, to whom the Punjab had been given as a fief.

D. The Lodi Dynasty (1451-1526)—Bahlol Khan founded the last and short-lived dynasty, known as the Lodi from the Afghan clan to which he belonged. Being a man of some ability and prowess in war he defeated the king of Jaunpur and annexed his territory. His son, Sikandar, continued his success and recovered Gwalior and Bihar. Ibrahim, the third ruler, gave great offence to his proud and turbulent Afghan nobles by his lordly airs and, when he commenced to put some

of them to death, Daulat Khan, the Governor of the Punjab, invited the Mughal Babar to step in and redress their grievances, and thus brought about the battle of Panipat in 1529 which extinguished Lodi rule and ushered in a new era in Indian History—the Mughal Empire.

3. Condition of India under the Sultanate of Delhi.

A. The Character of the Sultanate of Delhi—In the first place, all the Sultans without exception were fierce bigots. Even Firoz Shah Tughlak, who exhibited a certain amount of kindly humanity, and felt some desire to do good to his people, was by no means free from the savage intolerance of his contemporaries. Secondly, many of the Sultans, including the most ferocious, had nice taste in the refinements of Arabic and Persian literature. They liked to be surrounded by men learned in the peculiar lore of Islam, and were liberal patrons of the accomplishments which interested them. Thirdly, they introduced into India several new styles of architecture, based primarily on the model of buildings at Mecca, Damascus, and other cities of the Muslim world, but profoundly modified by Hindu influences. The architecture of the period has been termed "Pathan," a most inappropriate and misleading designation. (Smith, *O. H.*).

B. Nature of the Imperial Government—The government both at head-quarters and in the provinces was an arbitrary despotism, practically unchecked except by rebellion and assassination. The imperial government only claimed homage from the conquered Sultans, who in their turn often seem to have left Hindu Rajas undisturbed in their principalities, subject to the payment of tribute with greater or less regularity. "Some sort of civil government had to be carried on, and the strangers had not either the numbers or the capacity for civil administration except in a limited area. The Sultans left no fruitful ideas or valuable institution behind them." (Smith). A strong autocrat, like Alauddin, never allowed legal scruples to hamper his will, and Muhammad Tughlak, who professed reverence for the sacred law, was the worst tyrant of them all.

C. Expansion of Muhammadan Power—During the first half of the three centuries of Afghan rule (1206-1526) the expansion of the Muhammadan power was mainly due to the energy and activity of the kings of Delhi. Kutbuddin, Altamish, and Balban of the Slave dynasty spread the empire from the Indus to the Brahmaputra; Alauddin Khilji extended it to the Deccan; and Muhammad Tughlak conquered Warangal and destroyed the last great Rajput house in Southern India in 1323. After this the power of Delhi declined, but it is necessary to remember that this decline did not affect the ascendency of the Muhammadan power. On the contrary, independent Muhammadan kingdoms were formed in the distant provinces, and the rise of these independent kingdoms meant the further consolidation of the Muhammadan power in India. "The house of Delhi rose and then declined in power, but the Muhammadan power steadily increased during these three centuries, until it spread over the fairest portions of India." (Dutt).

D. State of the Country under the Afghans—From the account of foreign travellers such as the Italian Nicolo Conti, Barthema and Abdul Razik, we gather that "in spite of a rude system of administration, and of oppression, exactions and wars, which were nearly as harassing in India as they were in Europe in this age, the peaceful and industrious people of India lived in their village communities or under their Zemindars prospered in agriculture and in industries, carried on a busy trade with the outer world, cultivated literature and poetry in their spoken tongue, and gathered round the great reformers who proclaimed to them, under various names, the sublime verity of One God." (Dutt).

CHAPTER IV

OTHER MUHAMMADAN KINGDOMS OF HINDUSTAN.

[Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Bk. IV, Co. 4; Lane-Poole, Ch. VII.]

1. Introduction—Period of Disintegration.

During the period of the decline and fall of the Afghan Empire of Delhi after Muhammad Tughlak, the different provinces of the empire set up their independence under Muslim dynasties. These independent kingdoms were thus its off-shoots. The fate of them all was to be absorbed as provinces in the second or Mughal Empire of Delhi. In Northern India, there were Bengal, Jaunpur (Oudh), Malwa, Gujarat, and Kashmir, and in the Deccan the Bahmani Kingdom held a pre-eminent position. (Joppen's Atlas, No. 10 and No. 11).

2. The Kingdom of Bengal (1194-1576).

A. The Period of Dependence (1194-1340)—The kingdom of Bengal was founded by the adventurer, Muhammad Bakhtiyar, at the close of the twelfth century. Its loyalty to Delhi was fitful; for distance from the capital and the intervening swamps made it difficult for the Delhi Sultans to reach an insubordinate Governor and to maintain their hold upon the province. Hence Bengal really became independent at an early date. There were two principalities—an eastern and a western with Sonargaon near Dacca and Satgaon near Hugli as their respective capitals.

B. The Period of Independence (1340-1576)—The independence of Bengal may be dated from 1340 as the result of Fakhruddin's rebellion against the tyranny of Muhammad Tughlak. In 1352 the two principalities were united by Ilyas Shah with Firozabad as its capital which was changed to Lakhnauti or Gaur. The kings were of various races—Khaljis, Turkis, Bengalis, Abyssinians and last of all Afghans. The two principal figures among these were Husain Shah (1493-1518) and his son Nusrat Shah (Smith, p. 264). Provincial as these

sovereigns were, they maintained great state and luxury. The vast ruins of Gaur are estimated to occupy from 20 to 30 sq. miles. The remains of their architecture bear witness to their taste. These Sultans patronised Sanskrit learning and were highly popular among the Hindu subjects. (Smith, p. 264).

3. The Kingdom of Jaunpur (1394-1476).

A. The Period of Dependence (1394-1399)—The city of Jaunpur was founded by Firoz Shah Tughlak. In 1394 Muhammad Tughlak appointed a powerful enuch noble entitled Khwaja Jahan to be "Lord of the East" with his headquarters at Jaunpur. In those days the control exercised by Delhi was so feeble that every provincial governor was practically independent.

B. The Period of Independenee (1399-1476)—After the violence of Timur had shattered the Delhi Government in 1398, Khwaja Jahan's adopted son seized the opportunity and set up as an independent king in 1399. He was succeeded in 1400 by his younger brother Ibrahim, who reigned prosperously for forty years. The last independent king, Husain Shah, was overcome by Bahlol Lodi in or about 1476 and the "Kingdom of the East" came to an end. Like the kings of Bengal, those of Jaunpur were also patrons of arts and letters. (Smith, p. 255). With the reconquest of this kingdom, the Delhi kingdom once more touched the frontier of Bengal.

4. The Kingdom of Malwa (1401-1531).

A. The Outline of its History—Malwa was brought under Delhi in 1310 and therafter continued to be ruled by Muslim governors until the break up of the Sultanate of Delhi. Shortly after Timur's invasion in 1398 the governor, a Ghori noble, set up as king on his own account, and the independent kingdom thus founded in 1401 lasted tiil 1531 when it was annexed by Gujarat. Four years later Humayum brought it temporarily under Delhi, but it did not become finally part of the Mughal empire until the early years of Akbar's reign. (1561-4).

B. Important Sultans and their works—The first dynasty was the Ghori dynasty, from the governor who was

a Ghori noble. In 1436 the Khilji dynasty, which lasted about a century, was founded by Mahmud Khan, a Khilji, who was the most eminent of the sovereigns of Malwa. He spent a busy life fighting his neighbours, including the Sultan of Gujarat, various Rajas of Rajasthan and Nizam Shah Bahmani. Ferishta, specially extols his justice and character. He treated the Hindus with consideration. The next great Sultan, Nasiruddin, was a cruel brute in power. (Smith, pp. 266-7). The first capital of the kingdom was Dhar, but it was later on moved to Mandu, which was a large and magnificent city, containing numerous massive buildings of much architectural merit.

5. The Kingdom of Gujarat (1297-1572).

A. Importance of Gujarat—Gujarat in the Muhammadan period consisted of the peninsula of Kathiawar and six northern districts of the Bombay Presidency. The province, especially the mainland section, enjoyed exceptional natural advantages, being fertile, well supplied with manufactures, and possessed of numerous ports where profitable oversea commerce has been practised since the most remote times. It has consequently attracted the attention of all the races, which have effected conquests in northern and western India.

B. Outline History—In 1297 an officer of Alauddin Khilji annexed it to the Sultanate of Delhi and Muslim governors continued to be appointed from the capital after that date as long as the Sultanate lasted. Zafar Khan, the last governor, who was appointed in 1391, and had been practically independent, formally withdrew his allegiance in 1401. Ahmad Shah (1411-1441) may be regarded as the real founder of the independent kingdom of Gujarat. The original territory—only Asawal in the neighbourhood of Ahmadabad, was greatly extended by him. He built the noble city of Ahmadabad. "Travellers are agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful, charming, and splendid." The next great ruler was Sultan Mahmud Bigarha, the most eminent sovereign of his dynasty. His achievements and personal peculiarities were so remarkable that travellers carried his fame in a legendary form to Europe. He made himself master of the strong fortresses of Champaner

to the north-east of Baroda, and of Junagarh in Kathiawar, overran Cutch and gained victories over the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and other potentates. Gujarat princes maintained a fleet at sea. They had the harbour of Bombay in their keeping and entered into relations with the Portuguese. Towards the end of Mahmud's reign he came into conflict with the Portuguese and allied himself with the Sultan of Turkey against them, thus entering the period of European politics. In 1507 with some Turkish troops and ships, he won a victory over the young Almeida; but he was defeated by his father in 1509 in a battle fought off Diu in Kathiawar. In 1510, the year in which the Portuguese secured Goa from Bijapur, the reigning prince of Gujarat offered Diu to Portugal, and in 1531 a fort and a factory were erected there. Gujarat went the way of Malwa in 1572 A. D. when it submitted to Akbar, and a few years afterwards was incorporated in the Mughal Empire.

6. The Kingdom of Kashmir.

A. **The Country**—In the period of Hindu and Muhammadan history the name Kashmir did not denote the whole of modern Kashmir, but referred only to the beautiful valley on the upper course of the Jhelum which is about 85 miles long and from twenty to twenty-five broad.

B. **Outline History**—Early in XIV Century a Musalman adventurer from Swat, named Shah Mirza, who was minister to the Hindu Raja, seized the throne, and established a Muhammadan dynasty which lasted until nearly the middle of the sixteenth century. The sixth Sultan, Sikandar (1386-1410) at the time of Timur's invasion in 1388, was a ferocious bigot who either slew or exiled those Hindus who did not embrace Islam. The eighth Sultan, Zainul Abidin, (1417-1467), during his long and prosperous reign, adopted the policy of universal toleration, recalled the exiled Brahmins, repealed jizya and even permitted new temples to be built. From 1541-52, Mirza Haidar, a relative of Humayan, ruled over it nominally as his governor, but practically as an independent prince. In 1560 the Chak dynasty seized the throne and continued till 1586 when Akbar overthrew it.

BOOK IV

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

CHAPTER I. THE BAHMANI' KINGDOM

[V. Smith, *Oxford History*, Bk. V, Ch. 1-2; Irvine, *Imperial Gazetteer*, Ch. X; Lane-Poole, pp. 178-185, Ch. VII].

1. Preliminary.

A. Political Condition of the Deccan and South India—At the commencement of XIV century there were three Hindu kingdoms in the Deccan between the Tapti and Krishna—the Yadavas of Devagiri (1000-1311), Ganpatis of Warangal (950-1322) and Hoysalas of Dwarasamudram (1050-1311). In South India also there were three Hindu kingdoms—the Pandyas, the Cholas and the Cheras. Centuries of wars had already exhausted the vital strength of both the Deccan and South Indian powers. These had, despite differences of language, race, etc., a common civilisation and a common method of government, but they had never known the blessings of peace. Ambition led to constant wars which often ended in the absolute exhaustion of some one of the contending parties.

B. Early Muhammadan Invasion of the Deccan—The first invasion into the country south of the Narmada took place in 1294 when Alauddin Khilji marched against Deogiri in Khandesh, and made the Hindu kingdom tributary to Delhi. After ten years of pause, he sent his general Malik Kafur to the south when he became the Emperor. Between 1307 and 1311 Malik Kafur carried the standard of Islam to the very southern-most headland of India opposite Ceylon, reduced to subjection the Rajas of Deogiri, Warangal and Dwarasamudram, and plundered Kanchi and Madura. (?) The third invasion was by

Muhammad Tughlak in 1324 before he became the emperor. The fourth also was by him in 1341 when he was the emperor. During his reign the empire of Delhi had reached dimensions which rendered efficient administration by a distant central authority difficult if not impossible, and disintegrating forces were at work. In 1334 the Hindus of Warangal broke out into rebellion, and to punish them Muhammad Tughlak marched into the Deccan but the army did not march further than Warangal.

C. The Imperial Government of the Deccan—The Sultan of Delhi had made Deogiri or Daulatabad the Capital of the Deccan, whence the Imperial Viceroy controlled the whole of the Deccan. He had under him four Musalman Governors or Amirs, over the four provinces into which the Deccan was divided for purposes of administration.

2. The Origin of the Bahmani Kingdom.

A. Events which led to its Establishment—Immediately after Muhamad Tughlak returned to Delhi, the Hindus of Warangal revolted and recovered their independence. The rule of Delhi was thrown off by Kandesh, the country just south of Narmada and the Faruqui line of kings who ruled that country from Burhampur, endured from 1399 to 1599. The Hindus of the Karnataka, south of the Krishna, organised themselves into a solid and effectual wall of opposition to further Muhammadan invasions by the creation of the Vijayanagar kingdom. The Musalmans in the Deccan also revolted and established the Bahmani Kingdom.

B. Establishment--In 1346 Amirs slew the Imperial Viceroy at Daulatabad, and proclaimed one of them, Ismail Fath, an Afghan, king of Deccan. Muhammad Tughlak who was then in Gujarat, immediately marched to the Deccan and beseiged Daulatabad, but his presence being immediately required in Gujarat, he could not reduce it. The Amirs easily defeated the army he had left to continue the seige. They then elected Hassan Gangu, an energetic soldier, in place of Ismail who resigned. He ascended the throne as Hassan Gangu Alauddin Bahmani. (For the meaning of the title see Smith, p 274, foot-note 1).

C. **Its Extent**—In the North it extended to the kingdom of Kandesh in the valley of the Tapti, and in the South to the Krishna and Tungabadra. On the East and West its boundaries varied with the power and warlike spirit of the petty Hindu chiefs of Telingana on the one hand and of the Konkan on the other. It was only towards the end of XV century, during the reign of Muhamad III, the 13th king of the dynasty, that the kingdom stretched from sea to sea.

3. Its History under Early Bahmani Kings (1347-1435).

A. **General Features**—The history of the Bhamani dynasty is largely the history of fierce warfare with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar to the south. Wars with Vijayanagar were varied by expeditions against the Hindu chiefs of Telingana and the petty Rajas beyond the Western Ghats, and occasionally with the Sultans of Malwa and Khandesh.

B. **Important Kings of the Period**—(1) Hasan Alauddin (1347-1358)—He divided his kingdom into 4 divisions—Kulbarga, Daulatabad, Berar and Bidar, appointing to each a governor whose powers were almost royal: each maintained an army and made all civil and military appointments in his province. Tendency to rebellion in such a provincial system was checked by frequent royal tours and by regular appointment of provincial armies under the King's command in the campaigns against Vijayanagar. (2) Firoz Shah (1397-1422), the 8th king—According to Ferishta under him the kingdom attained its highest prosperity. He was a fierce bigot, and went on an expedition almost every year, forcing the Raja of Vijayanagar to pay tribute, and extending his conquests as far as Rajamundri. He adorned the capital Kulbarga with many edifices. (See Smith, p. 276). Notwithstanding his aversion to Hindus, he anticipated one measure of Akbar's policy by marrying two Hindu ladies, one being a princess of Vijayanagar. (3) Ahmad Shah I (1422-1435). He continued the wars of his brother with Vijayanagar, and the Hindu Raja of Warangal was slain and his capital was taken. He changed the capital to Bidar. (Smith, p. 278).

4. Its History under Later Bahmani Kings (1435-1526).

A. **General Feature**—One principal feature of politics in the reigns of the later Bahmani kings was the perpetual strife between the Deccanee Muhammadans allied with the Abyssinian settlers, who were mostly Sunnis, and the "foreigners"—the Arabs, Turks, Persians and Mughals, who were admitted freely in the army by the Bhamani kings, and were Shias. Though there was ill-feeling from the beginning, it led to violence only in the reign of Ahmad Shah II (1435-1457).

B. **Important Kings**—(1) Muhammad III (1463-1482), the 13th king—His prime minister was Muhmmad Gawan, equally competent as a general and as a civil administrator. He took the strong fortress of Belgaum in 1473, and recovered Goa from Vijayanagar. "The most remarkable military exploit of the reign was the successful raid made on Kanchi, one of the seven Hindu Sacred cities, during the course of a campaign against Vijayanagar in 1481." (Smith, p. 280). He divided the kingdom into 8 provinces. As the chief amirs or governors were "foreigners," the Deccanees rose in revolt and formed a conspiracy which plotted the execution of Gawan and ended in establishment of the Deccanee nobles in power. (2) Mahmud Shah (1482-1518)—Under this boy-king, the condition of the kingdom went from bad to worse. During his weak rule many amirs became independent. "For nearly 100 years (1374-1482) the kingdom endured unimpaired; in the remaining 44 years (1482-1526) power was in the hands of revolted generals who had founded new states, thereby reducing the Bahmani power to a mere shadow of its former greatness." (Irvine). The kingdom consisted of a small area round the capital. (3) Ahmad Shah III (1518-1526)—He was the last Bahmani king. On his death, Ahmad Barid assumed the Royal title in Bidar, and the Bahmani dynasty came to an end.

5. The Break-up of the Bahmani Kingdom.

A. **The Five Bahmani Kingdoms**—(1) Ahmadnagar under Nizam Shahs (1490-1637); (2) Bijapur under Adil Shahs.

(1490-1686). (3) Golconda under Kutb Shahs (1512-1687); (4) Berar under Imad Shahs (1484-1575); and (5) Bidar under Barid Shahs (1492-1609).

B. **Outline History**—(Irvine, pp. 385-391)—These states were always at war. The most important were Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Others joined one side or the other to maintain a balance. Yet they all united in a confederacy against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. The history of these kingdoms will be treated in connection with the history of the Vijayanagar Emipre in the next chapter and in the history of the Mughal Empire in the subsequent Book.

CHAPTER II. THE EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR.

[Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*; Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Bk. V; Ch. 3]

1. Introduction.

A. **Special Interest of the History of Vijayanagar**—The story of the Hindu monarchy which set itself up as a barrier to check the onrush of the armies of Islam is one of singular interest, and might be narrated with a fulness of detail rarely possible in Indian history. "The study of the polity, manners, customs, and religion of the Vijayanagar empire merits particular attention, because the State was the embodiment of the Telinga or Telugu and Kanarese forms of Hinduism which differed widely from the more familiar forms of the north." (Smith).

B. **Sources of Information**—The history of this Hindu monarchy might be narrated with a fulness of detail rarely possible in Indian History, because there are several sources of information—literary (foreign and Indian) and archæological (epigraphic, numismatic and monumental). Several European and Muslim travellers from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century have recorded the historical traditions of the empire with vivid descriptions of the system of government and the glories of the

magnificent capital. The Muhammadan historians who lived in the Deccan, headed by Firishta, give valuable information. A remarkable school of art was developed at Vijayanagar, and literature, both Sanskrit and Telugu, was cultivated with eminent success. The multitude of relevant inscriptions, numbering many hundreds, is extraordinary. Much may also be learned from critical examination of coins and monuments.

2. The Origin of the Kingdom or Empire.

A. Circumstances Favourable—A variety of circumstances helped in the rise and rapid expansion of Vijayanagar Kingdom. (1) After the overthrow of Warangal by Muhmad Tughlak in 1322 and of Dwarasamudra in 1328, Harihara and Bukka two royal adventurers, sons of one Sangama, entered the services of the Rajah of Anegundi in 1332. This Raja was slain by Muhmad Tughlak, and the Muhammadan Deputy found it impossible to govern the country, and the minister of the late Raja was appointed in his stead, and then the two brothers became the masters of the principality of Anegundi. (2) In the confusion which resulted from the mad schemes of Muhmad Tughlak, the kingdom of Vijayanagar formed the nucleus round which the weakened kingdoms of Warangal and Dwarasamudra rallied. (3) The geographical and strategical advantages of Vijayanagar—The site of Vijayanagar was well adapted for defence; for the river ran broad and deep on the north, there were impenetrable jungles to the east, and the masses of rock were linked together with lines of ramparts and crowned with redoubts, 'till the city was protected by a seven-fold girdle of walls. (Thompson, p. 146).

B. Foundation of the Kingdom and the Capital—Sewell enumerates about seven traditionary accounts of the origin of the kingdom, "There is, however, no doubt that the new power was the outcome of the efforts made by five brothers, sons of one Sangama, to stay the tide of Muslim invasion and to preserve Hindu *dharma* in the peninsula." (Smith, p. 301). In 1336 Harihara I founded the city of Vijayanagar on the southern, or safe bank of the Tungabadra, facing the older fortress of Anegundi on the northern bank. 'By 1353 the two

brothers were in a position to claim control over the whole country between the seas. In 1379 Harihara II succeeded, who was the first really independent sovereign of Vijayanagar who assumed full royal state or titles.

3. The Growth of the Empire.

A. **Circumstances Favourable**—Several circumstances favoured the growth of the empire—the weakness of South Indian powers---the Cholas, Pandyas, Cheras, and Bellalas; weakness, arising from disunion, of the Bahmani kingdoms; the distraction of the emperors of Delhi; the vast resources of the kingdom itself; and lastly the valour and patriotism of the Hindus.

B. **Growth of the Empire**—(1) *Annexation of the Chola Kingdom*—An inscription at Conjeevaram conclusively proves that what remained of the Chola power was completely merged into the Vijayanagar empire in 1365. (2) *Madura*—The short-lived Muhammadan kingdom of Madura became a province of the empire in 1377. Thus within a generation after its foundation, Vijayanagar was circumscribed by the ocean on three sides and by the Krishna on the north.

4. The Sangama Dynasty (1336-1486).

A. **The Chief Feature**—The main feature in the history of Vijayanagar during a century and a half of Sangama rule was the Struggle with the Bahmani Kingdom for the possession of the bone of contention—the Raichur Doab *i. e.*, the tract of land between the Krishna and the Tungabadra. There were six wars between 1366 and 1443 (*Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 344-5). On tbe whole during this period the Bahmani kings were more than a match to the Vijayanagar rivals who nearly always failed to secure the possession of the Doab.

B. **The Administrative System**—The empire was divided into about two hundred provinces or districts, each under a noble, who was bound to furnish a certain amount of revenue and a fixed contingent of troops. There were three classes of provinces—those under the direct administration of the emperor, those under Viceroys who might or might not be members of the royal family, and those under the old indigenous dynasties who paid tribute. In the last class of provinces, however, Vijayanagar

interests were maintained by a long line of imperial Viceroys. From 1365 to 1404 these Viceroys were Udayars, and after this period, they were Naiks who seemed to have been less independent than the Udayars and were confined to special districts. There were Naiks at Tanjore, Ginji, Vellore, Seringapatam, and Madura. The Viceroys, being near relations to royal families, proved powerful rivals in later time (*e. g.* Saluva Naiks). They did not unduly interfere in the internal affairs of the province; but confined themselves to the collection of tribute and the up-keep of the imperial army and the remittance of the surplus tribute to the Emperor. The local organisation was the usual Indian type, *i. e.*, based on the village community system. Though this system of administration bore evidence of a certain scheme or organisation it had however one fatal weakness. As Wilks points out in his "Historical Sketches of South India" (Vol. 1. 20), there was a lamentable lack of efficiency. The central authority was weak; and the provincial governors always tended to become independent. The strength of the imperial unity depended more on the character of the monarch than on the system of government.

5. The Saluva and Tuluva Dynasties (1486-1565).

A. Ths Chief Feature—The history of the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries is obscure in many points of detail. However one special feature is the struggle between Vijayanagar Rajas and Bijapur Sultans for the possession of the Doab, which on the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, had formed part of the Bijapur Kingdom.

B. The Greatest Emperor of the Saluva Dynasty—Narasinga Saluva (1486-1505)—He was the powerful and semi-independent governor of Chandragiri who deposed the weak nominal sovereign and ascended the throne. He effected extensive conquests in the Tamil country to the south and restored the credit of the Government. His administration made so deep an impression on the public mind that the Vijayanagar empire was often designated by Europeans as the "Kingdom of Narasingh." (Smith). He was constantly at war with Bijapur Sultans.

C. The Emperors of the Tuluva Dynasty (1505-1565)- (1) Narasa Nayaka (1505-1509). He was the Tuluva general who killed Immadi Narasinga, son of Narasinga. (2) Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1529) the contemporary of Henry VIII of England, was the greatest king of Vijayanagar. He was a generous, gallant and energetic statesman. (Read Smith, p. 304-305). He set to work methodically on his scheme of conquest. At an early date he reduced the fortress of Udayagiri in the Nellore District. Many other fortresses also surrendered to him. The most famous among his militory achievements was the fight in 1520 which resulted in the recovery of the much disputed fortress of Raichur from Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur. The Hindus gained a glorious victory though they lost as many as 16,000 killed. In the course of subsequent campaigns he temporarily occupied Bijapur, which was mostly destroyed by the soldiers, and he razed to the ground the fortress of Kulbarga, the early capital of the Bahmani Kingdom. Thus the opposition of the Hindus was decisively successful during his reign. In his time the empire comprised substantially the same area as modern Presidency of Madras, with addition of Mysore and the other native States of the peninsula. He closly allied with the Portuguese against Bahmani Sultans. In 1514 he offered to Albuquerque £ 20,000 for Persian and Arabian horses for an attack on Bijapur.

6. The Fall of the Vijayanagar Empire.

A. Causes—The intrinsic cause was the weakness of Deva Raya's successors, Achyuta Raya and Sadasiva Raya, under whose weak rule ministers became powerful, and Raichur was re-taken by Adil Shah. But the main cause of the fall of Vijayanagar was the decisive defeat by the united forces of the Bahmani Kingdoms. Quarrels between Amadnagar and Bijapur gave Vijayanagar the opportunity for revenge. On the invitation of Adil Shah of Bijapur, Rama Raya sent his army which ravaged the terriories of the Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, but the violence of the Hindu army excited the alarm and resentment of the Musalmans, who, seeing their common danger, united under the leadership of Bijapur, into a confederacy of the four States of Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar and Bidar.

B. The Battle of Talikota (1565)—The decisive battle was fought at Talikota, a place to the north of the Krishna, in which the army of Vijayanagar was completely routed by the united forces of Islam. (For the number in the armies and plan, see Sewell, pp. 201-5). Vijayanagar was completely destroyed and the princes fled with their treasures. This battle had important consequences, and is one of the decisive battles in the history of India. (1) On the Hindus—The Vijayanagar empire lost both its prestige and territory, but was not utterly shattered and annihilated. The kings re-settled further inland in one of the outlying provinces—first at Penukonda, then at Chadragiri, and gathered strength enough to again assert their authority for about a century more over the whole of Southern India under the rulers of the fourth dynasty, called Karnata. But due to their administrative system the vassals of Mysore, Madura, Tanjore, Ginji and others formed themselves into practically independent dynasties. The territories of the Empire were variously disposed of on its dissolution. The Muhammadan kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda annexed the districts on their southern borders. The Rajas of Mysore greatly extended their dominion, moving their capital to Seringapatam in 1610. At Tanjore, Vellore and elsewhere in the south Viceroys became independent monarchs, and held sway until Sivaji and the Mahrattas again established something like a suzerainty over the south. (Thompson). (2) On the Musalmans—Though the Bijapur Sultans triumphed and were confirmed in the possession of Raichur Doab, disunion among the varied kingdoms prevented them from deriving any benefit out of their victory, and their constant wars made it easier for the Mughal Emperors to conquer them. (3) On the Portuguese—With the fall of Vijayanagar, the trade and power of the Portuguese also declined. The fall of Vijayanagar was fraught with misfortune to the Portuguese at Goa. They had generally been on friendly terms with the Hindu Rajas, who took most of the horses they imported; while the trade in cloth and pearls brought money both to the public treasury and to the private purses of the merchants. "When this ceased, the wharves at Goa stood empty and idle, and Customs House lost its chief source of revenue." (Tompson).

BOOK V

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

CHAPTER I. THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE (1526–1556)

[Lane-Poole, (*1*) *Babar*; (*2*) *Mediaeval India*, Ch. VIII-IX; Keene, Vol. I. pp. 73—83; and 95—101; *Oxford History of India*, Bk. VI, Ch. I].

1. The Origin of the Empire—Babar (1526—1530).

A. Condition of India in 1526 (Joppen's Map No. II).—In Northern India, the Muhammadan States were the kingdom of Delhi under Ibrahim Lodi, which, though still extensive and under one king, "had no very strong principle of cohesion;" (Read Lane-Poole, *M. I.*, p. 191); the eastern provinces of Bihar and Jaunpur which were in a state of imperfect obedience to Delhi, and Bengal, a completely independent kingdom; the Western Province of the Punjab was semi-independent under Daulat Khan, and Gujarat was held by petty Rajput Chiefs in subordination to a Muslim Sultan, and the Rajputs maintained a wild autonomy south of Ajmere. The independent Hindu States were Kashmir, Nepaul, Bhutan, Assam, and Malwa or Mewar of which the fortified capital was Chittore. In the Deccan the Muhammadan States were Khandesh, Berar, Ahamadnagar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, and the Hindu states were Gondwana and Orissa. In Southern India the great Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar was in full strength with minor principalities under Hindu Rajas—Calicut, Tanjore and Travancore.

B. Early Career of Babar—King of Farghana—In 1494 he inherited the kingdom of Farghana from his father, Omar Shaikh, a son of Abu-Said, the great grandson of Timur, and mindful of his descent from Timur, he made more than one attempt to seat himself on Timur's throne at Samarkand. But

he was foiled twice and wandered sometime a fugitive among the mountains. King of Kabul--At length in 1504 he obtained possession of the kingdom of Kābul, which still belonged to the house of Timur, and so came into touch with India.

C. His Invasion of India--The wealth of India naturally tempted his adventurous spirit and suggested more than one raid. In 1519, following the footsteps of Alexander, he took Bijapur. He then crossed the Indus and claimed the Punjab as his inheritance in virtue of his descent from Timur. But his operations between 1519 and 1524 were only in the nature of a reconnaissance. In 1524 he invaded India at the invitation of Daulat Khan, the governor of that province of Delhi, and Alauddin, the uncle of Emperor Ibrahim Lodi, who fled to Babar at Kabul and entreated him to help him to the throne of his ancestors. (Read *Babar*, p. 137). No more propitious moment could be desired; India was seething with faction and discontent, and Babar was strong and prepared. The decisive battle was fought on April 21st, 1526, on the plain at Panipat—the historic site where the throne of India has been thrice won. It was the ruin of Afghan domination, the end of their power, and the beginning of the Mughal Empire.

D. Opposition of the Rajputs and Afghans---Though Delhi and Agra were immediately occupied and the immense spoil was divided among all ranks of the army and his subjects with lavish generosity, and though he secured the Afghan Chiefs with judicious mãnagement, he had to subdue Hindu India, a work more formidable even than the conflict with the army of the Sultan. The leader of the Hindu Confederacy was Rana Singh of Mewar or Chitor State (Udaipur). Babar pitched his camp at Sikri, afterwards known as Fathpur Sikri in memory of his victory. In the battle of Khanua on 16th March, 1527, the Hindu army was completely routed. He then crossed the Jumna, and stormed the fortress of Chanderi, now in the Gwalior State. Then he defeated in 1529 the Afghan Chief of Bihar and Bengal on the Banks of the Gogra, near its junction with the Ganges. These three victories left him master of the Hindustan.

E. Estimate of Babar and his work—Character and Greatness—"His Memoirs contain the personal impression and acute reflections of a cultivated man of the world, well-read in Eastern literature, a close and curious observer." (*Mediaeval India*, p. 196). (For his habit of drink—read, *Babar*, pp. 145-146). His place in Indian History—"He is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Timur and Akbar. His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line" (Lane-Poole). His Empire—He made Agra his capital and adorned it with flower-gardens. His Empire extended from the Oxus to the frontier of Bengal and from the Himalayas to Gwalior. (For his estimate of India read *Babar*, p. 194).

2. Humayun—(1530-1540 and 1555-1556).

A. Condition of Hindustan in 1530—He had several troubles at his accession. Of his three brothers, the eldest, Kamran, was semi-independent governor of Kabul and Kandahar, and others have been assigned minor charges. Humayun found himself constrained to conciliate him by letting him take the Punjab also. He was threatened on one side by the strong kingdom of Gujarat and on the other by the Afghan Chiefs of Bihar and Bengal. He was thus deprived of the resources in men and money which Afghanistan and the Punjab could supply, and had to meet opposition from all sides. Though a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, he was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. "He lacked character and resolution. He was incapable of sustained effort, and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate". (Lane-Poole, p. 219).

B. His Resistance to opposition—He was under the necessity of continually fighting to retain his position in Upper India. He marched to the east, defeated Muhamad Lodi near Lucknow in 1531, and beseiged the fortress of Chunar of the Afghan Chief, Sher Khan, but had to leave it suddenly to

proceed to Gujarat, thus leaving the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghan party free to mature his plans and strengthen his power. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, aiming at the conquest of Delhi, was attacking the fortresses of Agra and Kalinjar. He pursued the king of Gujarat to Mandu and on to Champanir and Ahmadabad, and thence to Cambay. Malwa and Gujarat had fallen easily. But the vast spoils of these cities utterly demoralised the Mughals. On his retreat to Agra, Gujarat reverted to Bahadur Shah. The paramount necessity of suppressing the growing revolt in the eastern provinces forced him to leave so rich a prize. (Read Lane-poole, p. 226). Sher Khan, descended from the royal house of Sur kings of Ghor, dreamed of a restoration of the Afghan ascendancy, defeated Humayun at Chausa on the Ganges in 1539, and again still more decisively opposite Kanouj in 1540. Humayun then became a homeless wanderer from 1540 to 1545 when Sher Shah ruled Delhi. While in the deserts of Sindh, Akbar was born at Umarkot on 23 November, 1542.

3. The Afghan Restoration (1540-1555).

A. Sher Shah (1540–1546)—For fifteen years he and his descendants were Lords Paramount of Northern India. His difficulties were fighting for his father's jagir unjustly given to a slave-girl and for Bihar, and getting himself acknowledged by all Afghan parties as their leader. But by his ability, courage, and wisdom, he held them together in the bond of a common cause against the Mughals. His Wars and Conquests—In his short reign, to the territories taken from Humayun, he added those of Malwa, which he conquered and the Punjab which Kamran ceded to him. He also invaded Mewar and took Chittore. While supervising the operations at the seige of Kalinjar in Bundlekand, he was killed by an explosion. Thus he really restored the Afghan empire to its former limits. His Administration—Sher Shah's importance in Indian history is not as a capable leader of a horde of Afghans, as an architect or builder, but as a diligent and systematic administrator, who displayed an aptitude for civil government and reforms, "which

were based to some extent on the institutions of Alauddin Khilji and were developed by Akbar." (Smith, p. 327). He showed great toleration of the Hindu subjects. He divided the land into 116,000 fiscal unions, in each of which he placed five officials, one of whom was an Hindu accountant, and one a judicial officer, whose duty was to mediate between the servants of the crown and the members of the community. A new digest of civil and penal law was substituted for the narrow code of Islam. The lands were assessed, for one year at a time, the assessment being based on a measurement of the cultivation and an appraisement of the various crops. No official was allowed to remain in the same place for more than two years. All districts but those on the frontier were deprived of arms. A royal highway, planted on either side with trees and patrolled by police, ran from the shores of the Bay of Bengal to the banks of the river Jhelum. This was the ancestor of the "Grand Trunk Road", which the modern rulers of India have laid down on the line of his own highway. Three other great roads traversed the empire— one frome Agra to Burhampore on the border of the Deccan, a second crossed Rajputana, and a third led from Lahore to Multan. Daily posts carried letters along these roads from place to place. The rural population was still sparse, and the tillage depended on a scanty supply of labour; for which reason the government was the more urgently required to care for the comfort and content of the peasantry. Even in a hostile country the people should not be molested: "if we drive away the agriculturist", said the Shah, "all our conquests can be of but little profit". He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. Estimate of his rule— "It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever. But in the midst of his strenous beneficence he encountered the caprice of fate which takes away a man, apparently necessary, before his work is done". (Keene). "This is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher

Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the Great Moguls would not have appeared on the stage of history". (Smith). His administrative system was based to some extent on the institutions of Allauddin Khilji, and was developed later on by Akbar the Great Moghul.

B. Decline and fall of the Sur Danasty (1545-1555).— *(a)* Causes—"It is a misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never ensure a worthy successor". The old contentiousness of the Afghan nobles sprang up when the strong restraining hand was removed. The prospects of Humayun brightened and the time had come for him to strike another blow. *(b)* Course—Islam Shah, (1545-1553), a son of Sher Shah, reigned for about nine years, but he proved himself to be a suspicious tyrant, though he kept some order and unity in the kingdom. After an interval of disputed succession the throne was usurped by Sher Shah's nephew Mubarik Khan who assumed the title of Adil Shah (1545-5). He was inefficient, and left the control of his affairs in the hands of Hemu, a clever Hindu tradesman. His cruelty and incompetence roused rivals and enemies. Ibrahim and Sikandar Sur, both related to Sher Shah, fought for the throne, which ended in Ibrahim's defeat and retirement. There were thus three Afghan princes ruling in 1554— Adil Shah in Bengal, Sikandar at Delhi, and Ibrahim in the Sambhal district.

C. Mughal Restoration—Now Humayun set out from Kabul for Delhi with Bairam Khan, his best general, and the first minister and regent of Akbar, and defeating Sikandar at Sirhind in 1555, won back the throne of Delhi. Though thus the Mughal dominion and dynasty were restored by Humayun himself by the victory of Sirhind and recapture of Delhi and Agra, after six months he died on 24th January 1556 by slipping down the polished steps of his palace. "He tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it".

CHAPTER II. THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE—AKBAR (1556-1605).

[Vincent Smith, (1) *Akbar*; (2) *Oxford History of India*, Bk. VI, Ch. 3; Malleson, *Akbar*; Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, Ch. X-XI].

1. Preliminary.

A. **Sources of Information**—No great collection of public documents exists for the History of Akbar as in the case of Queen Elizabeth of England or King Henry IV of France, not because he did not keep a record of his doings, but because the records perished by neglect and destruction. But other authorities for the reign are surprisingly numerous and copious. There are six other classes of authorities mostly contemporary—a considerable number of histories and memoirs in Persian; a long series of writings by observant Jesuit missionaries who resided at the court of Akbar; the notes of early European travellers and authors other than Jesuits; later European books, containing traditions and facts based on earlier documents; the archaeological evidence (monuments, inscriptions and coins); and contemporary portraits, drawings, and paintings. (Smith, *Akbar*, p. 5. In Appendix D, the bibliography, he gives details of all these six classes of authorities). On their relative value, Smith says, "The fundamental authorities for the story of Akbar's life and reign must always be the Ain-i-Akbar, the works of the historians written in Persian, and the accounts recorded by the Jesuit missionaries." (*Akbar*, p. 7).

B. **State of India in 1556**—The India of 1556 was a distracted and ill-governed land. (*a*) Northern India—The lordship of Hindustan or north-western India was then disputed by two or three members of the Sur family as well as by Hemu, the Hindu general and minister who set up as a sovereign on his own account. The Kabul territory, administered in the name of Akbar's younger brother, was practically independent. Bengal, usually under the rule of the Afghan rulers, had been independent for more than two centuries. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan had recovered from the defeat inflicted by Babar and enjoyed

unchallenged possession of their fortresses. Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off allegiance to Delhi long ago. Gondwana, the modern Central Provinces, and Orissa were also independent. The border states of Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan enjoyed perfect independence. Economic condition was even worse than political, many of its fairest provinces, including Delhi and Agra, being then desolated by an appalling famine due to failure of the rains and the devastation wrought by two years of warfare. In the Deccan, the States of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bijapur, were governed by their own Sultans, to whom the name of the Padshah of Delhi was a matter of absolute indifference. The peninsula of Southern India from the Krishna and Tungabadra rivers to Cape Comorin, was held firmly in the grasp of the Sovereigns of Vijayanagar, then at the zenith of their power. (A complete description of the internal state of India at the time is given by Elphinstone, Book VII, Ch. II.)

C. **Importance of Akbar's Reign**—"The long reign of Akbar, which lasted from 1556 to 1605, has been represented as the golden age of the Mughal Empire. It was in reality but the beginning of the period of splendour which ended with the disastrous wars of Aurangzib. Akbar was the true founder and organizer of the empire." (Lane-Poole.)

D. **Akbar's Character**—"His manners and habits were quite different from those of other people, and his countenance was full of godlike dignity." His mode of life was regular and abstemious. He was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort, and fond of all manly exercises. He had great talents for mechanical invention. In his later life he entered upon that stage of philosophic enlightenment which has made his name a household word for wisdom and toleration. (Read Lane-Poole, pp. 246-248).

2. The Period of Regency (1556-1564).

A. **Accession**—Bairam Khan and Akbar, engaged in operations against Sikandar Sur, were at Kalanaur when they received authentic news of Humayun's death. Akbar was enthroned at Kalanaur on February 14th, 1556. The enthronement of the

boy Padshah simply registered a claim to sovereignty. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab. He had to defeat three Sur, and one Hindu, claimants before he could win back his father's lost dominions.

B. Struggle for the Throne—(*a*) Against Hemu—Baiarm Khan, with Akbar, advanced from Thanesar, to the historic plain of Panipat, and defeated Hemu on 5th of November, 1556, in the second battle of Panipat, which resulted in slaying Hemu and the occupation of Delhi and Agra. (*b*) Against Sur Claimants—From Delhi the victors marched through Lahore to Mankot and beseiged Sikandar in the fort. After a long siege he surrendered himself, and was given Behar as a fief. Muhammad Shah had been killed and Ibrahim Khan had withdrawn. The Sur dynasty ended, and Akbar was left free to consolidate his dominion. In 1558 and 1559 the strong fortress of Gwalior surrendered and the Jaunpur province was annexed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues connected with the dismissal of the Protector.

C. The Regent—Bairam Khan was dismissed from service in 1560. (For causes, see Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 43—44). "Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women." (Smith). Akbar was then under the influence of the ladies of his household and the corrupt men through whom he acted. But from March 1564, his policy for 41 remaining years was his own,

3. Akbar as a Soldier and Conqueror.

A. His Military Capacities—Akbar was a great soldier both by nature and by training. Endowed with extraordinary strength of body and mind, he spent his youth in the practice of manly and warlike exercises. His early connection with the wars of his father had early schooled him in the arts of war, and developed both his pluck and power of endurance. His military formation was completed under the able guidance of his guardian Bairam Khan.

B. Conquests—I Stage—*Rajputana*—*(a)* His Early Marriage Policy—In 1562 Akbar married the daughter of Raja Bihar Mall, the Rajput Chief of Jaipur in Rajputana, who offered his eldest daughter to Akbar in marriage. This dynastic marriage secured the powerful support of her family throughout his reign, and offered a proof manifest to all the world that Akbar had decided to be the Padshah of his whole people—Hindus as well as Muhammadans. Similar marriage alliances were made afterwards with the Princesses of the Jodhpur and Bikanir Houses; these unions were distasteful to Rajput pride. (Read Lane-Poole's foot-note on p. 258). (*b*) His Later Policy of Conquest—In 1568 he besieged Chitor, the fortress of the Mewar State, the head and front of the Rajput resistance to the Mughal. The siege of Chitor, the most famous and dramatic military operation of the reign, by the fall of Jaimall, the chieftain left to defend it by Udai Singh, who fled to the mountains. Ranthambor fell in 1569. Kalinjar in Bundlekhand also fell in 1569. Thus the Mughal became the paramount power over the Rajputs, and Rajputana or Rajasthan was reckoned as a province or Suba with its headquarters at Ajmere, and the chivalry of the clans for the most part became devoted soldiers of the Padshah. The year 1570 is a turning point in Akbar's reign: the hard work of conquering the strongest oppostion was over, and the rest of his work was easy and much facilitated by the winning of the Rajputs.

C. Conquests—II Stage—Other States of Northern India—Having subdued the Rajputs, he undertook the reduction of the wealthy province of Gujarat in 1572 and 1573. Gujarat became completely a part of the Mughal Empire and the Mughal supremacy was unquestioned till 1758 when the Marattas occupied Ahmadabad. "The conquest of Gujarat marks an important epoch in Akbar's history. The annexation gave his government free access to the sea with all the rich commerce passsing through Surat and the other western ports." (Read *Oxford History*, 352). Bengal was conquered between 1574 and 1576, when it became an integral part of the empire. Orissa was annexed to Bengal in 1576, though fighting continued in

Bengal and Behar until 1586. Kashmir was annexed in 1586. In 1582 he pursued his revolted brother, and restored imperial jurisdiction over Kabul. Sind was conquered in 1592. Kandahar was recaptured from the Persians in 1594. His Empire in 1576—The conquest of Bengal in 1576, twenty years after his accession, made Akbar master of all Hindustan, including the entire basins of the Indus and the Ganges, except Sind. Thus the most populous and fertile part of Hindustan was conquered during the first twenty years. These territories, with their huge population, fertile soil, numerous manufactures, and vast commerce, both internal and sea-borne, constituted even then an empire richer probably than any other in the world. (Smith).

D. Conquest–III Stage–The Deccan—The last efforts of the Emperor were directed against the Deccan. Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, had been taken as early as 1563, and this province may be regarded as the threshold of the Deccan. The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, from its geographical position was the first to be attacked. Due to the able and heroic defence under Chand Bibi, the Mughal besiegers under Prince Murad made peace on condition that Berar should be ceded to the Empire. As Prince Murad in his campaigns drank himself to death, Akbar himself came down. He besieged Asirgarh, the stronghold of the disloyal Raja of Khandesh, and sent his son Daniyal to reduce Ahmadnagar. Both Ahmadnagar (1599) and Kandesh (1600) fell into the hands of Akbar. The Emperor now organised three Subas or provinces, namely, Ahmadnagar, Berar and Kandesh, and appointed Prince Daniyal as Viceroy of Southern and Western India, *i. e.*, the three new Subas with Malwa and Gujarat. (The motive for this arrangement; Smith, *Akbar*, p. 286). His Empire in 1605—(Map in Smith, p. 365 and Joppen's Map No. 12). The empire was divided into fifteen Subas or provinces, and in the Ain-i-Akbari we find a clear descriptive account of these:—Kabul; Lahore (Panjab), including Kashmir; Multan, including Sindh; Delhi; Agra; Awadh (Oudh); Allahabad; Bihar; Bengal, including Orissa; Ajmer; Ahmadabad (Gujarat); Malwa; Khandesh; Berar; and Ahmadnagar. (Dutt's *History of Ancient and Modern India*, Ch. x).

E. Criticism—(1) The Motive of Akbar—Indiscriminate panegyrists, such as Malleson, represent Akbar as making annexations for the good of mankind. In fact he desired conquest for its own sake, and for the power and wealth, which were its results. But he was not a king of the usual aggressive type: he kept in view a higher purpose—the political unification of India. (Read Smith, *Akbar*, p. 356). (2) The Wisdom of the Deccan Policy—"Again and again in Indian history we find in the Deccan the bane of Delhi Kings. Nature never intended the same ruler to govern both sides of the Vindhya mountains, for people, character, and geographical conditions are dissimilar. Neverthless to conquer the Deccan has been the ambition of every great king of Delhi, and the attempt has always brought disaster". (Lane-Poole, p. 285). (On this point, read page 3 of Part I, as well as the Deccan policy of Aurangzib later on, Ch. IV, of this Book).

4. Akbar as a Statesman.

A. Introduction—*(a)* His great work—Akbar's genius shines brighter in the excellent civil administration which he organised in his vast empire. It is as an able statesman that his reputation is cherished in India. *(b)* His Policy—Akbar felt that his chief task was the consolidation of the empire—"to bring all India under one sceptre, and to accomplish this task in a great measure by enlisting in its favour the several races which he desired to bring within the fold," by introducing principles so acceptable to all classes, to the prince as well as to the peasant, that they should combine to regard him as the protecting father. (Malleson). This he strove to achieve in two ways—by a policy of conciliation and by sound administration—civil, military, financial and judicial.

B. Policy of Conciliation—Foreshadowed and outlined by Sher Shah but otherwise unprecedented in the annals of Muhammadan India, Akbar's policy of conciliation was the chief feature of his statesmanship. Under his rule there were to be equal rights, equal laws, equal treatment, equal freedom for all men. His religious toleration, his readiness to listen to and argue

with Hindu pundits and Christian missionaries, his assumption of the role of a religious reformer, and founding an imperial religion---were all manifestations of his broad-minded policy of conciliation. For the conciliation of the Hindus he introduced the following reforms. He abolished taxes which pressed hardly on the religious opinions of the Hindus—the tax on pilgrims and the poll-tax. (Read Malleson, pp. 173-175). He introduced several social changes such as abolition of Sati; encouragement of widow-marriages and rendering them lawful; forbidding pre-puberty marriages; prohibiting slaughter of animals for sacrifice, and trials by ordeal.

C. **Civil Administration**—*(a)* General Feature—"The organisation of the government undoubtedly was immensely improved by Akbar who was the real founder of the Mughal Empire. The autocracy or absolute power of the Padshah remained unshaken, whatever administrative arrangements might be made, and the merits of the government depended mainly on the character of the supreme ruler". (Smith). His system was an adaptation of the Muhammadan and Hindu systems—the upper spheres of government were Muhammadan, and the lower Hindu. His administration was a military despotism—military because its chief support was the army as the Mughals wery foreigners in India, and despotism because it was highly centralised. (*b*) Specific Features—Imperial Government—He had no obligation to have a council of ministers. Yet he took advice from men of ablity and his ministers. His ministers were the Vakil or the Prime Minister; the vizier or Finance Minister, sometimes called the Diwan; the chief Bakshi, "an officer" whose varied functions cannot be indicated by any English denomination" (Censor of Rome); the Sadr, the Chief Inquisitor, whose powers were clipped by Akbar in the later part of the reign, and which office was abolished in 1582. Abul Fazl was never formally appointed either Vizier of Vakil, but he was for a long time Akbar's most trusted minister and Secretary of State. (Read Smith, *Akbar*, pp 358-60). Provincial Administration—He divided his Empire into 15 provinces, called Subas, under Subahdars or governors, assisted by a Dewan or revenue administrator, and a Fouzdar or military commander. (For a detailed description of these provinces, see

Dutt's "History of Ancient and Modern India," Ch. x). These Viceroys were subordinate only to the sovereign. They held office during good behaviour, and were bound in all things to carry out the instructions of their master. Local Administration— The village system of the Hindus was kept up untouched by the Mughal. "The Government, in short, was carried on by a vast multitude of petty local despotisms, kept in order to a certain extent by an overpowering autocracy at the top". (Smith, *Akbar*, p. 369). (Regarding the oppression of imperial offices, read Dutt, *ibid*, pp. 35-6).

D. Military Administration—(*a*) The army—'Of the army the principal component force was cavalry. Elephants too constituted an important feature in the army of battle. As a rule the presence of elephants was supposed to indicate the presence of the Emperor" (Mallenson, p. 192). (*b*) Officers—The military department is a feudal military service. Akbar arranged his nobles and officers in the grades of a feudal military service from the command of 5,000 (or more in the case of the Princes Royal) to a command of a troop of 10 horses. These officers were known as mansabdars, or holders of mansabs, those enjoying the higher commands having the title of Amirs. (*c*) Payment—The higher officers were granted provinces (Subas) or estates (Jagirs), out of the revenue of which they had to defray the expenses of keeping their contingents. The lesser officers drew their pay direct from the imperial treasury, and had to present their troopers and horses at periodical inspections. To prevent fraud the horses were branded at these musters.

E. Judicial Administration—The lines upon which justice was administered by the officers of Akbar were the same as those introduced by his Afghan predecessors. The Koran was the basis upon which the law rested. But precedents often modified the strict interpretation. Where, moreover. the law leaned to severity it was again modified by the instructions drafted by the Emperor or his advisers. The leading feature of these instructions was to temper justice with mercy. (Malleson p. 193).

F. Financial Administration—(*a*) General Feature—The principle laid down by Kautilya, the early Hindu writer on statecraft, that "all undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention should be paid to the treasury," was present to the mind of Akbar. With the help of Raja Todar Mall, the greatest of Akbar's administrators, he continued and developed the system of Sher Shah which he carried into effect with greater correctness and precision. As he suppressed vexatious sources such as pilgrim tax and poll tax and no less than 50 minor ones, the main source of revenue was the land. (*b*) Fiscal Divisions—He disregarded the old traditional local jurisdictions for revenue and administrative purposes, called 'parganas,' and divided the empire in 1576, with the exceptions of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat, into 182 purely artificial areas, each yielding a crore of *tankas* (=Rs. 250,000). (*c*) Method of Collection—Akbar caused to be measured, according to one uniform measurement all the cultivable lands in the empire, which was divided into three classes according to its fertility, the demand of the state being fixed at one-third of the produce. His "settlement" consisted of three steps—measurement, classification of lands, and fixation of rates to the classified areas—first for 10 years, and then for 19 years. Remissions, however were granted when lands were actually uncultivated, and when they suffered from too much or too little water, in case the crops raised were such as required irrigation. The divisions of the soil into classes, and the methods of calculation of assessment, were not unlike those now followed by the Settlement Department of the Government of India. The tax of one-third of the produce was commuted into money payment on an average of the prices obtaining for the previous nineteen years, but it was considerately provided that any cultivator might claim to pay in kind if he considered the commutation ran too high. His system was "rayatwari," the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. (*d*) Criticism—"The system was an admirable one. The principles were sound. . . . we cannot help feeling considerable scepticism concerning the conformity of practice with precept". (Smith, *Akbar*, p. 377).

The revenue assessment was not light, but extemely severe, (ibid). He asked for ⅓ of the gross produce, *i. e.*, double the Hindu and Persian proportion "There is no name in mediaeval history more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mall, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system." (Lane-Poole). "The systematic assessment of the empire for which Akbar and Todar Mall are given so much credit was primarily intended to increase the imperial revenue. Improvement in the condition of the people was quite a secondary consideration." (Read Smith, *Akbar*, p. 347). Hunter has ascertained that the revenue derived from Northern India by the great Mughal exceeded that derived by the British, which is, of course, derived from many different sources, so that the land-tax is infinitely lighter in the present day; probably not more than one third of what it was. "From fifteen provinces, including Kabul, the revenue derived was fourteen millions per annum. In addition to land-tax, the provinces had to support the local bovies, and Hunter estimates the total revenue of Akbar at forty-two millions, about half of the amount now exacted from perhaps twice th area, in return for the manifold services of civilization now rendered by the state." (Rees). When making such comparisons, one should bear in mind the prosperity of those days and the poverty of the present day. "There were doubtless many imperfections and many cases of malversation in spite of Akbar's efforts; but this is only to say that the best system in the world is open to abuse, especially in an oriental country where to cheat the government is a virtue and to grind the faces of the poor a venial fault" (?) (Lane-Poole, p. 268).

G. Estimate of Akbar's Rule—The chief causes of the success of his rule were the peculiar political state in which Akbar found India on his accession, the personal strength and ability of the man, the soundness of his general policy and methods of organisation, and his good fortune in having able ministers like those of Elizabeth. (For an account of Akbar's

friends, see *Oxford History*, p. 372). By these principles and aids, he conquered and consolidated one united empire. His principles would have maintained it. "They were the principles by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day." (Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 199). As Dr. Holden said, "He experimented in all departments, from religion to metallurgy," and some of his changes appear to be dedicated by mere whim, or restless curiosity, rather that reason and judgement. However Akbar was the "noblest king that ever ruled in India." (Lane-Poole).

CHAPTER III. THE ZENITH OF THE EMPIRE— JAHANGIR AND SHAHJAHAN (1605—1658)

[Lane-Poole, Ch. XII—XIII; *Oxford History of India* Bk. VI, Ch. 4—5; Rees, *The Muhammadans* Ch. VI, Sec. II and III.]

1. Reign of Jahangir–The Great Mughal (1605-1627).

A. Accession and Character—Prince Salim succeeded Akbar with the title of Jahangir or "World Conqueror." There was a party of Rajput nobles, led by Man Singh, who would have liked to have seen his son Khusru made Emperor. He posed as a Sunni and obtained support of the stricter Muhammadan party. He was really an open-handed, pleasure-loving, drunkard monarch who cared little for the laws and restraints of religion. Thus he formed a striking contrast to his father. As he grew older he toned down somewhat, partly, he says, from a conviction that he was injuring his health, but chiefly, no doubt, under the influence of his beautiful and talented wife Nur-Jahan, the "Light of the World," who was wise enough to conduct the affairs of State. Khusru, the favourite with the populace, revolted, but his forces were routed in the Punjab and himself was taken prisoner. (For his treatment, see Smith, p. 375).

B. The Englishmen at his Court—William Hawkins, a ship captain, came to Agra bearing a letter from king James I and seeking permission for the English to trade with India and build a factory at Surat. He was at the Court from 1608 to 1611 and became a great favourite with the Emperor. Sir Thomas Roe, a scholar and a courtier, of handsome presence, courage

and dignity, was sent some years later. He was in India from 1615 to 1618, and came to the conclusion that it was hopeless to try and obtain a regular commercial treaty between the two countries with a Government like that of the Mughal. He succeeded, however, in getting from the Emperor a *farman*, or permit, for the English to trade at Surat.

C. **Favours to the Jesuit Missionaries**—The temporary apparent alienation of Jahangir from the Jesuit Fathers, arranged as a sop to Muslim opinion, ceased in 1606 when his favours to the priests were renewed. After some difficulty they were allowed to retain their elegant and commodius Church at Lahore, as well as the *collegium* or priests' residence. Each department of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accomodation as in European colleges. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets, and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts. The zeal for Islam which Jahangir had displayed at the beginning of his reign gradually diminished, and he openly declared that he wished to follow in his father's footsteps. (Smith).

D. **War in Rajaputana**—In Rajaputana, Prince Khuram enjoyed an unparalled triumph; for the Rana of Udaipur (Mewar), weary of a conflict in which victories were almost as costly as defeats, made his submission in 1614. The Rana of Mewar was required to contribute to the imperial army a contingent of 1000 horse, and was officially regarded as a mere zemindar or jagirdar.

E. **War in the Deccan**—Since Akbar's capture of Ahmadnagar in 1599, an Abyssinian slave Malik Ambar, raised up the fallen dynasty of Nizam Shahs. He recovered Ahmadnagar from the Mughals, and with the help of his Maratta allies among whom was Sahaji, the father of Sivaji, he defeated their generals in several actions. In 1616 Prince Khurram was sent against him, and the fort of Ahmadnagar was surrendered. He was rewarded by his father with the title of Shahjahan and was made a mansabdar of 30,000.

F. **His Closing years**—In 1622 king of Persia took Kandahar, and though Jahangir planned an attack under Shahjahan,

due to ill-health and unwillingness of Shahjahan to imperil his succession to the throne by absence on the Persian frontier, the attack could not be undertaken. Thus he died leaving the empire weaker as a military power in 1627 than it was when Akbar died in 1605.

2. Reign of Shahjahan the Magnificent (1628-1658).

A. Accession and Character—On hearing the death of his father, Shahjahan hurried from the Deccan to the north, and sent orders for the execution of all his male collateral relatives, which was carried out pitilessly. In 1628 February, he solemnly took his seat on the throne at Agra. There were two rebellions—the first was of the turbulent Bundela clan of Rajputs occupying Bundelkhand, the hilly country south of the Jumna, and the second was of Khan Jahan Lodi, who carried out the traditional hostility of the Afghan Chiefs to the Mughal Empire. Both were defeated by Shahjahan's army. "Shahjahan has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment unduly favourable." (Smith, p. 415). As a son he failed in his duty, remaining in rebellion for years. He mercilessly exterminated his collateral male relations, beginning with his elder brother, Khusru, in order to clear his own path to the throne. As a father he displayed undue partiality for his first-born son, and showed little capacity for control over his family. In affairs of State he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous, perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time, but certainly not better. He had little skill as a military leader.

B. Relation with Portuguese—One of the earliest notable events of Shahjahan's reign was the destruction of the Portuguese settlement at Hugli in 1631. (*a*) Causes—"If the traders had confined their energies to the business of trade they might, perhaps, have remained undisturbed" (Smith). They maintained a customs house of their own, and were specially strict in enforcing the levy of duty on tobacco—an important article of trade. The "arrogant" Portuguese were not content to make money quietly as merchants. They engaged in a cruel slave trade, and habitually seized orphan children, whether

Hindu or Muhammadan, whom they brought up as Christians. The Portuguese renegades practised piracy, using the fort of Chittagong as their naval base. (*b*) Course—Shahjahan had heard of their misdoings even before his accession. When he became Emperor, he appointed Khasim Khan as Governor of Bengal, with instructions to exterminate the foreigners. Having completed his preparations, he began the siege of Hugli on June 24, 1632 and captured it with great slaughter. (Read Smith, p. 396). (*c*) Results—The Christians were, as before, fiercely persecuted till 1635, after which date it gradually died down. The persecution of the Christians and the destruction of Hindu temples (Smith, p. 397) are the results of his excessive Muslim zeal. This policy, opposed to the ideas of Akbar and Jahangir, was continued by Aurangzib to its logical conclusions. Some of the Portuguese were allowed to reoccupy Hugli, but the town never recovered its former prosperity. (Madras was granted to the English in March 1639 for an English factory—one of the most important events in the reign of Shahjahan, as being the beginning of British territorial acquisition in India).

C. **Relations with Deccan Powers**—The puppet Nizam Shah had been murdered by Malik Ambar's son; but another prince of the family was set up and supported by the Maratta Sahaji. The kingdom of Ahmadnagar was put an end to in 1632. In 1635 Shahjahan resumed seriously the work of conquest of the Deccan. In 1635 Shahjahan took charge of the operation in the south and brought an overwhelming weight of troops to bear against the Deccan Kingdoms. Within a year Bijapur made its peace with the Emperor, by which the Sultan yielded obedience to the Emperor, and agreed to pay a peace-offering of twenty lakhs of rupees, to respect the frontier of Golkonda, now a tributary state of the empire, and to abstain from aiding Sahaji in hostile measures. The settlement so effected lasted for 20 years. The peace was followed by the appointment of *Aurangzib as Viceroy* of the Deccan, having charge over four provinces—Khandesh, Berar, Telingana, Daulatabad (*Oxford History*, p. 403). He had many difficulties during his first Viceroyalty. Though the estimated revenue from these provinces was five crores of rupees, the

country could not pay its way. Moreover he was continually embarassed by the distrust shown by his father, who was completely under the influence of Dara, his eldest son and the lifelong enemy of Aurangzib. He was then appointed to the difficult government of the province of *Gujarat*, and he conducted the adminstration to the Emperor's satisfaction. Then he was transferred to a dangerous post as Governor of Balk and Badakshan—regions which the Mughal Emperors always desired to be under them. (Read the "Mughal Central Asian Policy" in Smith, p. 401). Aurangzib failed disastrously in his attempt to consolidate these countries, conquered by Prince Murad in 1645. Then in 1649 and 1652 Aurangzib failed twice to take Kandahar, which, in spite of a third siege in 1653 by Prince Murad, was finally lost to the Mughal after these three costly sieges. The Emperor sent him again to the Deccan. He began to put order into the administration of the Deccan, especially by a "settlement" of the revenue under the able officer Murshid Kuli Khan (Smith, p. 404). After this he began his aggressive policy in the Deccan by carrying on wars with Bijapur and Golkonda. He entered into an intrigue with Mir Jumla, the able wazir of the Sultan of Golkonda, who had fallen out with his master; and he would probably have taken the citadel with all its hoarded treasures, had not Shahjahan interposed and ordered him to return at once to his province. Mir Jumla afterwards became one of the most powerful of Aurangzib's supporters. Aurangzib was recalled from the Deccan by the struggle for the succession to the throne; and Sivaji, the Maratta chieftain, was thus left free to enter upon his campaign against the first of his Mussalman foes—the Sultan of Bijapur.

D. Shahjahan's Closing years—War of Succession— The sudden death of Shahjahan in 1657 led to a war of succession among his four sons. By his deceitful conduct, imprisoning Murad, making Dara and Shuja flee to the Panjab and Bengal respectively, and then putting Dara to a horrible death and imprisoning his old father, Aurangzib became the Emperor in 1658.

CHAPTER IV. THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE— AURANGZIB OR ALAMGIR I (1658-1707).

[Lane-Poole, (1) *Mediaeval India*, Ch. XIV-XVI; (2) *Aurangzib*; Smith *Oxford History of India*, Bk. VI, Ch. 6-7; Keene Vol. I, Ch. VI; Sirkar, *Aurangzib* Vol I-III].

1. Preliminary.

A. The Condition of tho Mughal Empire in 1658— As far as Northern India is concerned, the Mughal Empire was as extensive as in 1605. But beyond the Indian frontier, Persia had annexed the western portion of Afghanistan. In the Deccan, Ahmadnagar, Khandesh, and Berar were already in the Empire, and only Bijapur and Golkonda remained to be attacked. The Mughals had degenerated due to absence of religious zeal, due to the presence of vice and luxury, and on account of mixture of blood with the Afghans and Rajputs. The Empire had become unwieldy, and showed signs of dissolution. Efficient administration required an able ruler.

B. Sources of Information—In the eleventh year of his reign Aurangzib put a stop to the compilation of the official annals maintained so carefully by his predecessors, and also forbade the publication of histories by private persons. The motive of the order seems to have been a morbid humility. (Smith). *Khafi Khan*, the principal authority for the reign, was seriously handicapped by this prohibition. The narratives of contemporary European travellers and the researches of modern scholars have done much to clear up the obscurity in Khafi Khan's account.

C. The Features of his Reign—"The period is dull and depressing; one barren of great ideas, great transactions, and great men. The history is one of monotonous and vain struggle against a destiny prepared at once by the Emperor's qualities and by his defects. The ambition which led him to usurp the throne, and the attachment to Islam which urged him (the Puritan) to exertion, were causes which gave him a certain glory, as the head of the Muslim Empire, while yet they

combined to make him the beginner of its ruin." (Keene.) Though patient and forbearing with his Muhammadan nobles and subjects, he adopted a policy towards the Hindus that was as oppressive to them as it was disastrous to the Empire of the Mughals.

2. Aurangzib's Policy towards the Hindus.

A. His Principle—"Aurangzib was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life—neither throne, nor love, nor ease—weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam." (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 64). "His conscience impelled him to take up this position, and he was willing to incur any political danger or loss of revenue rather than forego his ideal. Authors who accuse Aurangzib of sanctimonious hypocrisy and feigning religious sentiments which he did not feel in his heart are mistaken in my judgment". (Smith, p. 437).

B. His Treatment of the Hindus—Unlike Akbar, and like his father, he adopted various measures for oppressing the Hindus. (1) The Brahmins of Benares were forbidden to teach the Vedas, and their schools were destroyed. (2) Hindu temples were destroyed *e. g.*, at Benares, Mathura, and Multan. (3) Cart-loads of idols were taken to Delhi to be trodden under foot by Musalmans. (4) The rise and revolt of a new Hindu sect—"Satnamis" was put down by himself in 1679. (Read Smith, p. 428). (5) The poll-tax was revived in 1676 which excited general discontent. (6) The Hindus blocked the road to the mosque, petitioning Aurangzib, but he ordered elephants to be driven over them. (Extracts from a nobly worded protest can be read in *Oxford History*, p. 438). (7) "Another of the injudicious ordinances of this period was one imposing a 5 per cent rating on the commercial transactions of Hindus, while those of the Emperor's co-religionists were taxed at half that rate. Such distinctions were keenly felt in India." (Keene). These examples of "illiberal fanaticism" form one of the marked contrasts in the characters of Akbar and Aurangzib, and paved the way for the Hindu revival.

3. Aurangzib's Policy in the Northern India.

A. His Settlement of Bengal—Mir Jumla, the vizier of Golconda, was appointed the viceroy of Bengal. The ruler of Arakan had shown inhospitality to his brother Shuja, who though a rival, was yet a prince of the Imperial house. Incensed at this, he ordered Mir Jumla to attack Arakan. Though he collected much booty, on his return he died of exhaustion by his toil in 1663. Then Shayista Khan, the Emperor's uncle, succeeded to this post.

B. Relations with the Rajputs—(*a*) Causes of the Rajput War—The Hindu Chiefs, the innumerable Rajas of the Rajput blood, dwelling in their mountain fastnesses about the Aravalli range and the great desert of India, were a perpetual source of danger to the throne. Had these Rajas combined their forces, it is probable that no Mughal army could have long stood against them. Happily for the Empire they were weakened by internal jealousies, of which Aurangzib was not slow to take advantage. (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 106). "Nearly all wars of Aurangzib arose out of his religious policy". The Rajputs of Mewar (Udaipur), and Marwar (Jodhpur) could not look on idly while their temples were destroyed and they were taxed. The Rajputs of Marwar had a further grievance of their own in his attempt to seize the infant sons of Jaswat Singh and detain them as wards at his court. (*b*) Course of the War—(1679-1681). The Emperor directed the movements of armies from Ajmere, and three of his sons commanded separate divisions. A peace was patched up with the Rana of Udaipur in 1681; but the Rajputs were never truly reconciled to Aurangzib. (*c*) Criticism—"But for his tax upon heresy and interference with their inborn sense of dignity and honour, Aurangzib might have still kept the Rajputs by his side as priceless allies in the long struggle in which he was now to engage in the Deccan." (*Mediaeval India*, p. 387).

C. Relations with Europeans—(*a*) *The Portuguese*—In 1666 he suppressed the Portuguese pirates at Chittagong. A large number of them came into his hands, and he settled them under

supervision at Dacca. Their galleys were burned. (*b*) *The French* Company appeared in India in 1668 and obtained privileges of trade at Surat and Masulipatam. (*c*) *The English*, who now had factories at Hugli and Kasim Bazaar, had much to do with Shayista Khan, the Governor of Bengal. His restrictions led to an outbreak of a war in 1686 in which the English completely failed to make any impression on the vast bulk of the Mughals. In 1668 the English acquired Bombay, and on the conclusion of the war in Bengal, the site of Calcutta was occupied by Job Charnock in 1690.

4. Aurangzib's Deccan Policy.

A. Relations with the Muhammadan Deccan—In 1685 the siege of Bijapur was formed, and the Emperor pressed on the operations against the doomed city. It was starved to surrender at last in 1686 and with it the dynasty of Adil Shahs came to an end. The Sultan of Golkonda was a Shia, and living as a profligate left the management of his kingdom to his Brahman ministers. Golkonda was besieged and fell in 1687. Aurangzib annexed the territories of the fallen kingdoms. His general reached Tanjore. Thus, for a moment, he appeared to be the Lord Paramount of the whole of the Indian peninsula from Kabul to Chittagong, and Kashmir to Cape Comorin. (Joppen's Atlas, Map No. 13). "By the above conquests the whole of India as far south as Tanjore was for the first time incorporated in the Mughal Empire, which was now at its greatest extent." (Irvine).

B. Relations with the Hindu Deccan—The Marattas—The Marattas of the Deccan, whose doings occupy from this time so large a space in Indian History, now began to be conspicuous under the leadership of their remarkable king Sivaji. In 1648 he revolted against his sovereign, the king of Bijapur, and soon began to plunder the adjoining Mughal territories. In 1662 Shayista Khan, the Mughal governor, took the field against him but without success. But in 1665 Raja Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur), who had been superseded by Shayista Khan, induced Sivaji to submit and proceed to Delhi. There he found himself a prisoner,

but in 1666 he escaped. As the Emperor's armies were occupied elsewhere, the Marattas gained considerable strength. The early campaigns in 1682 and 1683 ended in total failure. In 1689 however Sambhaji, Sivaji's unworthy successor, was captured and executed for using abusive language. His son Sahu was captured and detained at Delhi. He took forts after forts only to lose them again.

C. **Criticism of his Deccan Policy**—"Delhi is distant," says an old Deccan proverb, and many an Indian king has realised its force. The Deccan was never meant by nature to have any connection with Hindustan. (Read, *Mediaeval India*, p. 387). "The conquest of South India proved both a military failure and a political miscalculation." It was a military failure, because of the guerilla warfare of the Marattas (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 193); inefficiency of the Mughal army, being unwieldy and weak and for want of supplies, his intolerance which provoked the Marattas to obstinate resistance; the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda before the overthrow of the Marattas; his distrust of any and every general; and the loss of Rajput Co-operation. It was a political miscalculation, because of the expansion of the Mughal Empire to such dimensions by the addition of the Deccan kingdoms which proved fatal to its solidarity; the weakening of the government in Hindustan and the consequent growth of the Sikhs, Jats and Afghans; the overthrowing of the Muhammadan kingdoms which would have been an effective barrier against the Hindu Marattas; (Justification of this action, Irvine, p. 404); and educating the Marattas by 24 years of fighting into being his equals, if not his superiors, in war.

5. Aurangzib's Administration.

A. **General Administration**—"The system of administration, while substantially the same as in Akbar's days, was worse in operation, because Aurangzib failed to keep a firm hand over his subordinates, and when he grew old was unable to make his authority respected". (Smith). In principle it was the same as in the days of Akbar; the difference lay only in the choice of an inferior, ill-educated class of Muslim officials, to the

general exclusion of the more capable Hindus, and in the inadequate measures taken for local inspection and supervision. While the central government was rigidly just and righteous, in the Muhammadan acceptation of law, the provincial administration was generally venal and oppressive.

B. Financial Administration— There has been a controversy regarding the revenues of the Mughal Emperors, which centre round two points—the conversion of Indian revenue into English money of the time, and the question whether the returns include the gross revenue from all sources, or merely the income from the land-tax. Lane-Poole concludes his discussion on the first point with the following observation—"We may take it, therefore, that the revenue returns of the Mughal Emperors show a steady increase from about £ 19,000,000, towards the end of Akbar's reign, to over £ 40,000,000, when Aurangzib was at the height of his power. Regarding the second point he says that the returns represent only the land revenue, including, however the tribute which took the place of the land-tax in those half-subdued states where the imperial collector did not penetrate. The Emperor was titular lord of the soil, but in practice he restricted his interest to levying of a tax of about one-third of the gross produce. The rules laid down by Akbar for the periodical valuation of the land prevailed in the reign of Aurangzib, but they may have been largely evaded by corrupt officials in remote districts. The system was equitable in theory, and was strictly enforced wherever the Emperor's influence and inspection reached.

C. Estimate of Aurangzib's Rule—Elphinstone says he would have been a great king had he not had a heart cold and calculating, a stranger to all generous and ennobling impulses. It is said that in devotion, austerity, and justice, in courage, patience, and sound judgment, he was without peer; but as from reverence to the injuctions of the Divine Law he did not inflict punishment, and as without punishment no country can be kept in order, every plan and design he formed came to little good. As a Muhammadan he reached the ideal of a strict Muslim ascetic; "but when he is judged as a sovereign he must be pronounced a failure" (Smith, p. 447). "In spite of his many virtues, enormous

industry, unwearing persistence, and fair talent for war, Aurangzib cannot be pronounced a successful ruler. Apparently he had raised the empire to a pinnacle of glory never before attained; but the germs of decay were already at work." (Irvine, p. 404). However, a close examination of the causes of decline and fall of the empire shows that Aurangzib is not so responsible as is generally believed. Causes over which he had no control brought about its decline. The empire was destined to fall in spite of the follies of the Puritan Emperor.

CHAPTER V. THE FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1707-1764).

1. The Later Mughal Emperors (1707-1764).

A. Bahadur Shah or Shah Alam I (1707-1712)— Aurangzib's son, Muazzam, defeated and killed his brothers, and ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah in 1707. His great object was to settle affairs in the Deccan so as to be free to deal with the many troubles in Hindustan. Fortunately there was a split among the Marattas, and of the two claimants to the chief command, one, the rightful heir, was a captive in the Mughal camp. This Sahu was released by Bahadur, who recognised his title on conditions of peace. Leaving the Marattas to arrange their own differences, the Emperor went north and made terms with the insurgent Rajputs, practically restoring them to the position they had held in Akbar's reign. The terms might have been less favourable if Bahadur's anxieties had not been concentrated on a new danger—the rise of the Sikhs. (The story of their rise will be seen later on). Bahadur drove them to their hills, but without materially shaking their power. Then he died in 1712. "Short as his reign had been, it must be remembered that he was the son of a very old man, and was himself nearly seventy. Had he been in the prime of life there might possibly have been a different story to tell." (Lane-Poole).

B. Jahandar Shah (1712–1713) and Farruk Siyar (1713-1719)—(*a*) Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, succeeded him after the usual struggle for the throne and ensuing massacre of kindred. He was utterly incapable and incurably vicious. After reigning for six months, he was dethroned by the Saiyad brothers—Saiyad Abdullah, governor of Allahabad, and Saiyad Hussein Ali, governor of Bihar. He was then murdered and followed by his nephew. (*b*) Farruk Siyar—He merely reigned and the Saiyad brothers governed, as he was a despicable poltroon. When he tried to throw off the rule of the Saiyads, they caused him to be put to death in 1719.

C. Muhamad Shah (1719–1748)—He was one of the sons of Jahandar Shah, who owed his throne to the Saiyads and came to the throne in 1719, and he soon began to conspire against them. Saiyad Hussein Ali was assassinated, and Abdullah defeated and slain in battle at Shahpur in 1720. He reigned for twenty-eight years as Emperor: it was but a title, however, for the power and glory had departed from the house of Babar. The most imporfant event of his reign was the invasion of India hy Nadir Shah, the king of Persia who not only gained possession of Persia, but recovered for the Persian kingdom Kandahar in 1738 and completed his conquest by seizing Kabul and Ghazni. The Afghans on whom the Mughals relied, offered no obstacles to the Persians. In November 1738, Nadir Shah crossed the Indus, and after a partial engagement with the Mughal forces, who were half disposed to side with the invaders, the conqueror received the surrender of the Emperor in person in February 1739. They entered Delhi which was given over to fire, carnage and rapine. The imperial treasures, including the famous jewelled Peacock Throne, valued by Travernier at £ 6,000,000, were seized and transported to Persia. The awful visitation of Timur was repeated and even outdone. After two months of colossal pillage, Nadir returned to Persia. On the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747, Ahmad Shah, the chief of the Abdali tribe of Afghans, after founding a powerful kingdom at Kandahar, invaded the Punjab. But his first invasion in 1748 war repulsed by the defeat at Sirhind.

D. Ahmed Shah (1748–1754)—Muhamad Shah died in 1748, and was succeeded by his son, Ahmed Shah. Ahmed Shah Abdali again invaded India in 1751, and captured Multan and Lahore, but he was bought off by the surrender of the Punjab. At this period occurred the rise of the Jats. (The story of their rise will be seen later on).

E. Alamgir II (1754–1759)—At the time of his accession, the Punjab was in the hands of the Afghans; at Oudh and Allahabad, Safdar Jang, the Nawab-vezier of Oudh, was practically sovereign; Aliverdi Khan held Bengal; Afghans and Rohillas did as they pleased in the middle Doab and Rohilkand; Gujarat and Malwa were Maratta provinces; and the Deccan, even the part held by the second Nizam, the successor of Nizam-ul-Mulk, of modern Nizam's dominions, was wholly beyond the mastery of Delhi. In 1756 Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the third time and Delhi experienced all the horrors of a sack over again. On his retiring, the Marattas were again called in, and this time the Peshwa's brother actually occupied Delhi. The Marattas were at the zenith of power. "Full of their strength and ambition they raised the cry of Hindustan for the Hindus. It had become a religious war, centred round the phantom of the Mughal Empire". (Lane-Poole, p. 419). Alamgir was put to death in 1759.

F. Shah Alam II (1759–1806)—Condition at the time of his accession—On the one hand was the Muhammadan Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, eager to recover the Punjab from the Marattas, and on the other was the Mughal Vezier of Oudh, Shuja-ad-daula, son of Safdar Jung, supported by the forces of the eastern provinces. Between lay the prostrate capital, overawed by the host of the Hindu Marattas. Shah Alam fled to the British in Bengal for protection and signed the treaty of Allahabad in 1759 by which he came under the protection of the English. The Mughal Empire may be regarded as practically ended. The Third Battle of Panipat (1761)—Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the fourth time and routed the Marattas in the decisive battle of Panipat. "The history of Muhammadan India closes, and the history of British India begins". The victory of Panipat

swept away the Marattas only to make a clear path for the English. Less than four years afterwards, the battle of Buxar, on October 23, 1764, disposed of the power of the Nawab, and the next day Shah Alam came into the British camp. The treaty then signed made the Nawab-Vezier a vassal of Calcutta, and the Mughal Emperor a pensioner of the East India Company. Such was the political tragedy of the famous House of Timur. (Lane-Poole, p. 422).

2. Causes of the Decline and Fall of the Empire.

A. **Internal**—I. Intrinsic weakness of the Empire due to several causes. (1) The unwieldy and heterogenous character of the empire, consisting of dominions loosely knit and forming diverse units as in the case of the Maurya Empire, which resulted chiefly from the Deccan policy of Akbar, continued by Jehangir and Shahjahan and completed by Aurangzib. "The huge area of the empire, under the conditions, was quite beyond one man's control, as probably Aurangzib himself perceived, since he attempted to effect a partition of it between his three sons." (Irvine, *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 404) (2) The uncentral position of the capital Delhi or Agra. (3) The excessive centralisation of the imperial government. In all governments where the army plays so essential a part as in the case of the Mughal foreign rule, the mainspring is irresistible authority in capable hands at the centre. It is a fact worth noting that the great towns of India seem never to have attained any municipal autonomy that might have given them weight in politics. They played no part in the civil wars. Moreover many of the petty Chiefs and large land-holders or jagirdars preserved their independence within their own domains. The nobility created by the Emperors was almost entirely official and not hereditary, consisting of high civil officers and military commanders who held lands on tenure and could be dismissed at the sovereign's pleasure. (4) The incapacity of the later Mughal Emperors—The nine Emperors after Aurangzib reigned for a period of 96 years while the six early great Mughals ruled for 180 years. This fact shows the weakness and incapacity of the later Mughals, for in Asia "a long rule is of neccessity a strong rule." The nominal Emperors

were but the puppets of opposing factions. They were weak, vacillating, and vicious. (5) The inefficiency of the military organisation due to a multitude of circumstances. "The more I studied the period, the more I am convinced that military inefficiency was the principal if not the sole cause of the Empire's fall. All other defects and weaknesses were as nothing when compared with this." (Irvine). The imperial army consisted mostly of foreign mercenaries from Persia, Afghanistan and other parts of Central Asia, and they proved untrustworthy. They are apt to change sides on emergencies or to desert a falling throne; and so when the Mughal Emperors could no longer command the discipline, the troops looked round for better, or rather more liberal, leaders. Again to be efficient, the Mughal military system supposed a constant flow of virility from beyond the northern barrier. But in course of time this flow was greatly diminished, if not stopped, by the rise of new and powerful monarchies in the North-West, and chiefly by the "India" policy (India for the Indians) inaugurated by Akbar and followed by his two immediate successors. So when Akbar checked this stream of new immigrants by turning his back upon Asia, he sapped the very root of the Mughal dominion. Moreover "India" had proved the Capua of Babar's veterans, and the enervating climate had relaxed their thews and softened their training whilst drink had become the curse not only of the imperial house, many of whom died of it, but also of the whole nobles and the whole court." (Lane-Poole). "The heroic soldiers of the early empire and their not less heroic wives had given place to a vicious and delicate breed of grandees. The ancestors of Aurangzib, who swooped down on India from the north, were ruddy men in boots: the courtiers among whom Aurangzib grew up were pale persons in petticoats." (Hunter) (Read Lane-Poole p. 413). The soldiers of Aurangzib's time could not move without huge camps and commissariats, and hordes of camp followers. (6) The Demoralisation of the Musalmans. Corruption was also ripe. Omrahs received a large yearly payment on condition of keeping up a fixed number of troops, but they only maintained many less than their proper quota, and pocketed the difference in the pay. (Prothero, p. 116).

B. Internal—II. The religious intolerance of the Mughals was another political error which accounts for the fall of the empire. Toleration and compromise were neccessary to unite all classes in India in support of the foreign empire of the Mughals. The intolerance alienated the Hindus, and caused the destruction of the Shia kingdoms of the Deccan, which might have been a counterpoise to the Maratta power. "The powerful Hindu support of the throne, won so cleverly by Akbar, was weakened by the erroneous policy of Shahjahan and, in still greater degree, by the austere fanaticism of Aurangzib." (Smith). This policy roused the bitter opposition of the Hindus and resulted in the Hindu revival in the shape of powerful forces—the Sikhs, the Jats, the Rajputs and the Marattas.

C. External Causes—(*a*) The pressure of the Asiatics—The invasion of the Persian king Nadir Shah in 1738-9 and the colossal pillage which attended it, weakened the power of the Mughals. The four invasions of the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali, between 1748 and 1761, further weakened the Mughal power and finally the Marattas in 1761. Thus he hastened the fall of the Muhammadan Mughal Empire and the weakening of the Hindu Maratta power and indirectly the establishment of the British power in India. (*b*) The pressure of the Europeans—The rise of the European powers—the French and the English, and their conflicts among themselves as well as with the Muhammadan and Hindu powers, finally made the Mughal Empire fall, and made India pass from her Mughal or Muhammadan Sovereigns to the British Lord Paramount Power.

3. Independent Principalities out of the Empire.

A. The Nizam—Several independent principalities rose out of the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Asaf Jah, who was made Wazir of the Empire with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, or Deputy of the Empire, in 1721, retired from Delhi to the Deccan in 1723, and made himself independent there. This Asaf Jah, who was then Subahdar of Malwa, defeated Mubariz Khan, Subahdar of Haidarabad at Shakarkhelda in the Buldana district, of Berar in October, 1724, and the Subahdarship of Haidarabad

has been an independent possession of his family ever since, called the Nizam's Dominions.

B. **Oudh**—Saadat Ali Khan, originally a Khorasan merchant, established himself in Oudh, the Nawabs of which were recognised as Kings by the British in 1816. The power of his family commenced from the time when Mahomed Shah made Saadat Khan Subahdar of Allahabad and Oudh. Saadat Khan occupied this position from 1723 to 1747. He was succeeded in his Vice-royalty by his nephew, Safdar Jang, a Perisan Shia, the principal opponent of the Nizam's grandson, Mir Sahibuddin, or Ghaziuddin II, who was a Sunni, and the head of the Turkish faction. Safdar Jung died in 1754 leaving his power to his son and successor, Shuja-ud-daula.

C. **Bengal**—In Bengal, Ali Verdi Khan set aside Sarfaraz Khan, the son of Shuja-ud-din, the last Subahdar nominated by the Empreor, and was perforce recognised by Mahomed Shah. Ali Verdi Khan was the first Subahdar who discontinued sending revenue to Delhi.

D. **The Maratta States**—The Maratta chiefs became independent, and the States of the Peshwas at Poona, Gwalior, Indore, Baroda, and Nagpur were founded. All these principalities and States were one after another brought under the British Paramount Power.

PART III. THE BRITISH PERIOD

BOOK I

THE HINDU REVIVAL

[Grant Duff, *History of the Marattas*; Ranade, *The Rise of the Maratta Power*; Gazetteer of the *Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, part II; *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Ch. XII; *Oxford History*, Bk. VI, Ch. 7.]

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

1. The Hindu Revivalist Movements.

A. The Importance of the Eighteenth Century—"The eighteenth century is the formative period in the history of Modern India. It witnessed the break-up of the Mughal Empire, and the firm establishment of British supremacy. It also witnessed the one successful attempt on the part of the Hindus to drive back the tide of Muhammadan invasion." (*Imperial Gazetteer*, p 439).

B. The Period of Hindu Revival—The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were periods of great Hindu reforming or revivalist movements. (Thompson, p. 218). This assumed the shape of national awakening in the case of the Marattas, Rajputs, and Sikhs. "With the Rajputs, the ascendency was confined to a few particular clans of noble families. With the Sikhs, the ascendency was limited to the *Khalsa* army, who constituted a small minority of the population of the Punjab. The case was far otherwise with the Marattas, among whom there were, no doubt, class ascendencies and clannish feelings, but these were kept under by the political sense of the population generally, who joined the national armies for six months in the year, and returned to their family lands, and enjoyed their *Vatans* during the remaining period." (Ranade).

C. The Country of the Marattas—Maharashtra, the central home of the Marattas, is the neighbourhood of the Western Ghats, eastward of Bombay. The Sahyadri range running from north to south, and the Satpura and the Vindhya ranges running from east to west enclose Maharashtra on two sides. The word Maratta is scarcely an ethnical or even a caste name. In modern usage it is confined to the superior class from whom Sivaji's generals and warriors were mostly drawn, and who sometimes claim a Kshattriya origin.

2. Causes which helped the Rise of the Marattas.

A. Geographical—Maharashtra enjoys three natural advantages. (*a*) Relief—The mountainous character of the country, denied to the peoples of the lowlands and the valleys, gave the Marattas a rugged country with flat topped hills, suited for guerilla warfare. "The hill forts on the top of these ranges typify and protect the naturally defensible position of the country." (Ranade, p. 19). (*b*) Climate—These features secure for it the advantages of a good and bracing climate, which distinguishes it from the dry and moist extremes of heat and cold of the plains in North India and the lowlands. Due to these features the country is sparsely inhabited by a hardy and abstemious people. (*c*) Position—Its position on high road between Northern India and Southern Peninsula, gave it commanding advantages denied to other tablelands of Mysore and Malwa, which alone can be compared with it, (Ranade).

B. Racial and Social—By reason of its position between the divisions of India, Maharashtra has been inhabited by a people in whom the Aryans and Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion. (Read Ranade, p. 21). Owing to this due proportion, the institution and the religion of the country have maintained an equilibrium which is rarely found in other parts of India. The characteristic institutions are the village community with the Panchayat system, and the Ryot-wari tenure of land, held in full ownership by small peasant proprietors directly responsible to the State. "The tenure of land is thus of a more equal and almost democratic character than in other parts of the country." (Ranade).

C. **Religious**—The popular religion of the country has avoided the extremes of sectarianism which disfigure and disunite the Dravidian portion of the peninsula, and the minute sub-divisions of caste in Northern India. The Brahmans and the non-Brahman Sudras are brought into contact on more equal terms than elsewhere.

D. **Political**—A slow process of *national emancipation* is seen due to various favourable circumstances. Ranade distinguishes *ten* steps in this process. (1) The Deccan Muhammadans, being separated by great distances from their base beyond the north-west frontier, were not recruited by fresh invaders as was the case in Delhi. (2) The establishment of the Bahmani kingdom by a slave of a Brahmin (?) (3) The Revenue management and the charge of treasury remained all along in Hindu hands—Brahmins and Khatris from Delhi, and these, in due course of time, made way for the Deccan Brahmins and Prabhus. (4) On the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom into five, the revenue accounts of villages were kept in the vernacular in place of the foreign Persian or Urdu language. (5) The success of the conspiracy of Muhammadan nobles of the Deccan against Muhmad Taglak in 1347 depended on the alliance of the Hindu kings of Telingana and Vijayanagar. (Read Ranade, p. 29). (6) In consequence of this balance of power between Hindus and Musalmans, the latter seldom indulged in those excesses which distinguished their rule in Northern India, and the former never suffered the depressions they felt elsewhere as an incidence of foreign conquest. (7) The Musalman rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives. (Examples, Ranade, p. 31). (8) The Hindu converts also exercised a similar influence. (9) The Muhammadan kings showed toleration towards the Hindus, and gave *inam* lands to Hindu temples and endowments, and employed Hindu physicians in hospitals. (10) The Hindu predominance in the Military department increased as years rolled on. (Examples, Ranade, p. 34).

CHAPTER II.

THE RISE OF THE MARATTA POWER—SIVAJI

1. Introduction.

A. The Politicai Situation on His Accession—The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar had ceased to exist and was a Subah of the Mughal Empire. "The predominant factor in the political situation was the advance of the Mughal arms in the South". (Ranade), The Portuguese power, which was so formidable in XVI century, had spent itself, and was now acting on the defensive on the Konkan coast. The English Company had just established a factory at Surat and commanded no political importance. The revenue management of the Deccan was entirely in Hindu hands. Their military commanders had distinguished themselves on the battlefield, and their ministers in the Council Chambers. The most reliable, if not the chief fighting men, in the Golconda, Bijapur and Ahmadnagar armies had been men of the Maratta race who had measured strength with the heavily armed soldiers of the North, and had realised their strength and weakness.

B. The Great work of Sivaji—The scattered power of the Marattas had to be united in a confederacy, animated by a common purpose, and a common patriotism born of a liberal religious fervour. Sivaji's great merit was that he realised the great danger of the Mughal advance, kept the Maratta separatist tendency under control, and brought the common forces together in the name of a common religion. He did not create the Maratta power; he sought to unite it for a higher purpose by directing it against the common danger. "This was the chief merit and his chief service to the country, and in this consists his chief claim upon the grateful remembrance of the people". (Ranade, pp. 38–39).

C. His Parentage—Sivaji was the son of a Maratta chieftain, Sahaji Bhonsle, who had first entered the service of Ahmadnagar and then of Bijapur. His mother, Jijabai, belonged to a family of higher social rank, which claimed descent from the Yadavas of Deogiri. He was born in the fort of Sivaner in

1527 and was brought up on the family jagir at Poona. The training of the young chief was under the Maratta poets, Ramdas and Tukaram, (Smith, p. 431).

D. **His Character**—He was bold, active and resourceful, alike in fighting and diplomacy. He showed respect to Mosques and the Sacred Book. The lives and honour of the women and children, who fell into his hands, were safe; nor did he allow his troopers to make slaves of their prisoners of war. "It is safe to affirm that his religious zeal was the potent factor in arousing the sentiment of nationality which inspired his lovely countrymen to defy the Mughal legion". (Smith). Yet Smith observes "The Maratta independent rule in all its varieties until 1818 was rule of professed robbers". (p. 436).

2. Sivaji as a Soldier.

A. **First Stage of Conquest**—The Period of Consolidation—His father Sahaji had been content to be a vassal of the Sultans of the Deccan. But his was a higher mission of consolidation and conquest. He began by seizing the forts in the neighbourhood of Poona jagir. In 1646 he seized the fort of Torna, and afterwards built the new fortress of Rajgarh. The chieftains, who were disposed to hold aloof from the cause, were coerced into alliance and friendship.

B. **Second Stage of Conquest**—War With Bijapur (1657—1662)—Afzal Khan, the Bijapur general, was defeated and killed by Sivaji. After several defeats the Sultan of Bijapur was forced to make peace by recognising him as the ruler of a strip of western Deccan.

C. **Third Stage of Conquest**—War with Mughals—(1) First war (1663—1667)— Shaist Khan and Jaswant Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur, were sent against him by Aurangzib, but they made no progress in the difficult task. Then Diler Khan was sent against him with Jai Singh. They beseiged him in the fortress of Rajgarh in 1665, and pursuading him to take service under the Emperor against Bijapur, he was taken to Delhi in 1666 and became practically a prisoner. He escaped in 1667 and

recovered rapidly most of what he had lost. Finally Aurangzib entered into a treaty with him by which the title of 'Raja' was granted to him, his son was made a mansabdar of 5000, and a jagir in Berar was given to Sivaji in settlement of his claims to Chauth in the Ahmadnagar territories. Thus his position in the Deccan was confirmed, and in 1669 the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda agreed to pay Sivaji annual subsidies of three to five lakhs respectively. (2) Second war (1670—1674)—War with the Mughals broke out afresh. Sivaji captured many more forts and extended his territories. The Mughal districts of Khandesh and Berar were over-run and laid under tribute and the Raja of Bednur in the south consented to pay annual subsidy. He plundered the Dutch and English factories at Surat in 1664 and in 1671. Sivaji's affairs prospering everywhere, he decided to formally assume the title of king, and ascended the throne in 1674, and died a comparatively young man in 1680 after a reign of six years.

D. Fourth Stage—Expedition to Southern India—He penetrated as far as Tanjore, and established strong military posts along the road, the two most important among which were those at Vellore and Jinji.

3. Sivaji as an Administrator.

A. Civil Administration—Sivaji had some of the genius of an organiser of government as well as that of a soldier. There was a distinction made between the Swarajya and Moglai territory. The former was the country proper of the Marattas and was fully administered by them. The latter was foreign territory, over which the Marattas claimed suzerainty and from which they exacted the yearly chauth. The Raja was assisted by a Council of Eight, the "Ashtapradhana," at the head of which sat the Peshwa or the Prime Minister. The other members held departmental charges, such as finance, foreign affairs, and so forth. The whole administration was based on the principles of the Hindu sastras. The eight ministers usually were actually employed on military business, the work of their offices at the capital being performed by deputies. Each district officer similarly

had eight principal subordinate officials, to deal with correspondence, accounts, and the treasury. (Smith). The Council had but a short life; it was no more than a name after Sivaji's time, and the better features of his system of Government disappeared very quickly. Sivaji did not recognize hereditary rights to the great offices of State; and he attempted to preserve a balance of castes both in military and civil appointments. The hill fort was the centre of each district and its commandant with his civil and military staff was the governor of the district.

B. Financial Administration—"Much of the revenue of the Maratta State was derived from simple robbery, and another large portion came from payments in the nature of blackmail made by districts under the government of other powers which desired protection from plunder." (Smith, p. 434). The principal blackmail payment was called *chauth* or "the fourth," being one quarter of the authorized land revenue assessment of the district claiming protection. Sometimes an extra tenth, called *sardesmukhi,* was extorted. They were demanded as an acknowledgment of Maratta suzerainty, much as the Delhi Emperors expected from the Provincial governors, an annual subsidy amounting to about one-fifth of the total revenue of their provinces. If this tribute was withheld, Marattas collected it by force. In the first grant of Chauth for Mughal territory by Aurangzib, Sivaji undertook to preserve order in the districts assigned to him and to maintain a force of cavalry for the Imperial service. In later times Chauth became a simple exaction of tribute by superior strength without the rendering in return of any political service whatsoever; it was paid as "the cost of keeping a robber at a distance."

C. Military Administration—The army, which originally consisted of infantry only, was organised in a sensible fashion with a due gradation of officers—the *naik* commanding a squad of 10; above him the *havildar* or sergeant; the *jumaldar* or captain of a company; the battalion commander; the brigadier of 5000 men, and the commander-in-chief, called *senapathi.* When cavalry was introduced there was sometimes a separate chief. The troopers comprised *barjirs,* mounted by the state, and *silahdars,*

who provided their own horse. During the rains, the regular troopers were provided with quarters for themselves and their horses; and they drew pay for four months from treasury. Sivaji disliked the jagir system. "His army differed from all other Indian armies of the period, and even from the Anglo-Indian armies of Wellesley's time, in its complete freedom from the curse of female followers." (Smith, p. 433). A considerable fleet was stationed at Kolaba in order to check the power of the Abyssinian pirates and to plunder the rich Mughal ships.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH AND FALL OF MARATTA POWER

1. The War of Maratta Independence.

A. **Introduction**—Sivaji's death was sudden as well as premature, for he had no time to make proper arrangements for regulating the succession to his kingdom. There were two parties of the nobles—one supporting Sivaji's elder son, the licentious Sambhaji, and the other desiring to place Raja Ram, his younger son, on the throne, as Sambhaji was unfitted, by his character and habits, to carry on the task begun by Sivaji. The war of Maratta Independence which began soon after Sivaji's death was the second crisis in the history of Marattas. The first occured when Sivaji fell into the hands of Aurangzib.

B. **First Stage of the War**—*Sambhaji*—After the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda, Aurangzib was free to give his whole attention to the Marattas. Sambhaji and his vile minister were surprised and captured in 1689 by a Mughal army while drunk at Sangameswar on the Ghats. He and his minister so reviled the Emperor that he commanded their tongues to be cut out, themselves to be killed. This success was followed by the capture of Sambhaji's son Sahu who was appointed a mansabdar of 700 and brought up at the imperial court at Delhi.

C. Second Stage—Raja Ram—The Marattas then placed at their head Raja Ram who hastened to Ginji and carried on the war there, while the other leaders exhausted the Mughal army by a guerilla warfare in the Konkan. Aurangzib advanced in person against Satara, and captured it, in 1698. About the same time Raja Ram died, and his widow Tara Bai, assumed the reins of government. The struggle between the Marattas and the Mughals was continued. But before the death of Aurangzib in 1707, the Mughal armies had become so disorganised that they were forced to retire before the Marattas.

D. Third Stage—Sahu—In 1708 Sahu was released by Bahadur Shah, successor of Aurangzib, and after defeating Tara Bai, placed himself on the throne in 1708 with Satara as his capital, and within a few years he made himself master of the old possessions of the Maratta country with the exception of the district of Kolhapur which remained in the possession of Raja Ram's son. The Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan acknowledged Sahu's claim to the Chauth and Sardesmukhi over the six Subahs, along with the swaraj or independent sovereignty over Poona and 15 other districts.

E. Importance of the War—"Judging by the results achieved, there can be no doubt that these twenty years represent the most glorious period of Maratta history. Aurangzib stirred the people of Maharashtra to their inmost depths; and it was the hard discipline of this twenty years' war, which cemented the national and patriotic instincts of their leaders." (Rânade, pp. 192-195).

2. The Formation of the Maratta Confederacy.

A. Rise of the Peshwas—Situation under Sahu—Sahu being an incapable ruler, the first man in the State was the Prathinidhi, the first officer, under whom was the Peshwa or Prime Minister presiding over the Council. In 1714 the Peshwa was a very able Brahmin, Balaji Viswanath who became in reality the first man in the government, and practically all real power lay with him. When Sahu went mad the Peshwa appropriated the king's functions. When Sahu died in 1748, his

son was thrown into prison by the then Peshwa who moved his capital to Poona and reigned there, and the Peshwaship became hereditary.

B. The First Peshwa–Balaji Viswanath (1714-20)— He extended the influence of the Marattas at Delhi. When Balaji assumed the reins of government, two Sayyid brothers— Sayd Hussan Ali and Sayd Abdulla, were playing the part of king-makers at Delhi. In 1719 Muhmad Shah was elevated to the throne, but a combination of nobles headed by Nizamulmulk (Azof Joh) opposed him. Balaji profitted by this state of affairs at Delhi to push forward the Maratta power. He led an army to Delhi to support Sayd Hussan Ali. In return, in 1720, he received a confirmation of the right to Chauth in the Deccan and of the control of the districts from Poona to Satara. The formation of the Maratta Confederacy was his greatest work.

C. The Maratta Confederacy—(*a*) Necessity for it— Sivaji's system of Ashtapradhana was impossible due to two causes. Its successful working required a strong centralised government and it was not in Sahu's power to supply it, and due to the Mughal war, the Marattas were scattered in different centres from the Narmada to the Kaveri. Thus the separatist tendency threatened the dissolution of the Maratta power, and therefore to strengthen it the only course was the formation of the confederacy. (*b*) The Main Ideas of the Confederacy—All the Maratta leaders in different centres were to be held together by the traditions of Sivaji for the purpose of common action against foreign powers. In all respects the confederacy had co-ordinate and equal authority as regards internal matters. The defect in this arrangement was the absence of some bonds of union, which Balaji supplied and in this lies his greatness. (*c*) The Bonds of Union were the common traditions of Sivaji and reverence attached to the person of his then reigning successor Sahu by whose orders all titles and dignities were bestowed; a sense of balance of power among the confederate leaders by the judicious exercise of Sahu's intermediation, by the co-operation of the leaders; the material interests of the members were

centred in the common discharge of their duties. For this purpose, the Peshwa and other confederate members were made collectors of Chauth and Sardesmukhi in the Deccan and in places apart from their jagirs. A great obligation lay on all members to present a fiscal account of their administration to the State treasury. The Sardesmukhi and 34 per cent. of Chauth were to be made over to the Raja and the remaining 66 per cent. of Chauth was assigned to the chiefs on condition of maintaining a fixed quota of cavalry by each. (*d*) Criticism of the Constitution--The success of the Marattas for the next 100 years is the best proof of the wisdom of Balaji's plan. The failure of the confederacy after this period was due to the abandonment of the confederacy idea for individual advancement. The financial bond of union was of a mercenary kind, and marks the passing of the Maratta power from a patriotic to a predatory organisation.

D. **The Second Peshwa—Baji Rao (1720—1740)**—(*a*) His ability—Upon Balaji's death, his son Baji Rao succeeded him, and the office thus became hereditary. Baji Rao was probably the ablest of the Peshwas, and certainly he was the best soldier of them all. His activity and abilities caused the Raja to retire still further into the background. A Brahmin by birth, he embraced and performed the duties of a Kshatriya. (*b*) Quarrel with the Prathinidhi—Baji Rao was for a bold forward policy and was for penetrating to the very centre of the Mughal Empire. "Strike at the trunk and the withered branches will fall of themselves." But Prathinidhi and some councillors warned him that the rival States, Kolhapur and Haidarabad, threatened danger from south and east, and pointed out that in the Karnatic there were easy conquests nearer home. Sahu sided with Baji Rao and they adopted a forward policy. (*c*) His Wars--(1) War with Gujarat—The powerful Gujarat Chief was jealous of the Peshwa's influence and resented his meddling with the revenues of Gujarat which he regarded as his own. But the Peshwa overthrew and slew him in battle near Baroda in 1731. (2) War with Delhi—In 1732 Baji Rao overran Malwa, and though his army showed themselves under the very walls of Delhi in 1736, he failed to get a formal grant of Chauth in Gujarat

and Malwa. (3) War with the Nizam—1738, Nizamulmulk, at the request of Muhamad Shah the Emperor, took the field against the Marattas. But he was beseiged in Bhopal and reduccd by starvation. By the Convention of Sironj he agreed to obtain a patent for Malwa and Gujarat from the Emperor, and to pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs to Baji Rao. Thus not only had the Deccan previously been cut off from the Empire, but the Maratta power, already established, was now legally recognised in Hindustan and was at easy striking distance from Agra and Delhi. When Nadir Shah invaded Delhi in 1739 and left India, Baji Rao should have wrung from the Emperor the ratification of the Convention. But due to the energetic operation of Nazir Jang, son of the Nizam, and the plot of the Bhonsle and Gaekwar against him, Baji Rao chose the Deccan as his next theatre of action. Having disposed of the Bhonsle by inviting him to a remote expedition to the Karnatic, he attacked Nazir Jang at Bhirampur, but the latter broke through the Maratta army and advanced towards Poona whereupon Baji Rao came to a compromise. Thus ultimately the Nizam proved more than a match for Baji Rao who died in 1740.

3. The Break-up of the Confederacy.

A. The Growth of Four Maratta Principalities—There arose four great leaders within the Confederacy who were to establish the Maratta princely houses. Raghoji Bhonsle founded the kingdom of Nagpur in the Central Provinces. Gaekwar founded the kingdom of Gujarat, and from him descended the Gaekwars of Baroda. Malhar Rao Holkar, the Ruler of Malwa, was the first of the Rajas of Indore. Ranoji Sindhia occupied the regions of the north-east, and laid the foundation of the Maratta kingdom of Gwalior. The original bonds of union were relaxed, and the growth of these four powerful principalities marks the beginning of the break-up of the Confederacy.

B. The Third Peshwa-Balaji Baji Rao (1748-1761)—*(a)* His Ability—Though sensual in his habits, the Peshwa was not lacking in ability to govern. As a rule he let others to do

his fighting for him, while he directed public affairs from Poona and greatly improved the administration of Swarajya. Under him "the Maratta power attained its greatest limits and received its most crushing blow". *(b)* Succession to the throne—In 1748 Sahu died. Being childless, he thought of making Sambaji II of Kolhapur his heir. There were two parties and Balaji Baji Rao supported Raja Ram, a lineal descendent of Sivaji, and obtained from the dying Sahu a document giving him and his heirs the right to govern the whole Maratta Empire on condition of preserving the royal dignity of the House of Sivaji. Thus the Peshwa's family acquired a legal and hereditary title to the office which three of them had filled in succession. The other party was supported by the Bhonsle family which was anxious to put an end to the Brahman supremacy. *(c)* His Wars and Conquests–(1) In Bengal—At the instance of the Emperor Muhamad Shah, the Peshwa defeated Raghoji Bhonsle who was attacking the territories of Alverdi Khan, the Bengal governor. The Emperor rewarded him for his service by giving him the patent for Malwa which though promised by the Convention had not been bestowed. Yet Bhonsle continued to pillage far and wide, and Aliverdi Khan purchased peace in 1752 by ceding Orissa to Bhonsle and by promising to pay a tribute of 10 lakhs for Bengal. (2) In the Deccan—Sadasiva Rao, the Peshwa's cousin, forced Salabat Jang of the Deccan to surrender Asirgarh, Daulatabad, Aurangabad, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. These encroachments reduced the Muhammadan power in the Deccan to the narrowest limits. (3) The Peshwa himself led revenue expeditions into Mysore and the Karnatic. (4) In 1751 with their help the Rohillas were subdued. (5) Ragunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother, led his army even into the Punjab and installed a Maratta governor and garrison at Lahore in 1760. Thus the Maratta power reached its zenith in 1760, And that very date may be taken as marking the beginning of the decline and fall of the Maratta Power.

4. Fall of the Maratta Power–Battle of Panipat (1761).

A. The Events which led to it—Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Durani Afghan king, invaded India and conquered the Punjab in 1752 which became an Afghan Province. On the death of

Muhamad Shah, Ahmad Shah became the Emperor and drove the Afghans out of the Punjab. This led to the second invasion of Abdali which resulted in a fresh sack of Delhi. On his withdrawal the Mughals called in the Maratta help to strengthen them. Accordingly Raghunath Rao marched north, occupied Delhi, invaded the Punjab and entered Lahore in 1758. The Marattas might once more have established a Hindu Empire in India. Their army was well-drilled and their artillery better than that of the Mughals. The capture of Lahore brought in upon the Marattas an enemy that shook their empire to its centre. Shah Abdali swept over India for the third time, and came in contact with the Marattas in the battle of Panipat.

B. The Third Battle of Panipat (1761)—Abdali collected a large army and marched into India to recover his lost possessions. Coming up with Holkar, he forced him to retreat. Sweeping on to Delhi and crossing the Jumna, he took Sindhia by surprise, and destroyed two-thirds of his army. When the news of these disasters reached the Peshwa, operating in the Deccan, he sent Sadasiva Rao, his brother, with 20,000 horse and 10,000 artilery and infantry to recover the lost reputation of the Marattas in Hindustan. The war became a war of nationalities, of religions. Were the Hindus or the Afghans to be the Rulers of India? The Rajputs, Pindaris, and Jats flocked in vast numbers to the Maratta standards. The Rohillas and Shuja-ud-daulah, the Viceroy of Oudh, joind Ahmad Shah. The two armies met at Panipat. (For the description and plan of the battle, see Smith, p. 462). The defeat of Panpat killed the Peshwa. Balaji Baji Rao died broken-hearted (1761).

C. The Causes of the Maratta Defeat—(1) One of the chief causes was the undue pride and optimism of the Marattas after their victorious career of conquest in the South, East, North and North-west. (2) By their extensive conquests the Marattas had overreached themselves and their efforts were far from their base. (3) The abandonment of Sivaji's method of warfare and want of strategy on the part of the Marattas. (4) The lack of co-operation and harmony among the Maratta leaders: the doubtful

attitude of Holkar and treacherous neutrality of Bhonsle due to his jealousy of the Peshwa's power. (5) The patient and skilled generalship of Abdalli.

D. Results and Importance of the Battle—The Peshwa died of a broken heart, and the remains of his armies retreated south of the Narbada, relinquishing all their conquests in Hindustan. The dynasty of the Peshwa and the monarchy of the Mughals were alike extinguished by this battle. The Marattas, under their individual chieftains, recovered much of their territories, but the Mughal empire was irretrievably broken up into independent states. "The history of the Mughal Empire here closes of itself". (Smith p. 465— Read the passage from Elphinstone). The Maratta power never recovered the losses of Panipat, and from it we may date the collapse of the "Hindu Revival," which seemed at one time likely to result in the establishment of a great Hindu Empire in India. At Panipat the Marattas lost for ever their chance to found an empire in India. The direct results of Panipat were quite disproportionate to the magnitude of the exploit. If Ahmad Shah had consolidated in the Punjab a powerful kingdom, resting on Afghanistan and stretching southward down to Delhi, the History of India and the fortunes of the English might have been quite different. As he retired from India, in the long run it was the English who reaped the fruit of his decisive victory. If the Marattas had not suffered this temporary depression, in alliance with Shujah and Shah Alam, they might have succeeded in extirpating the still slender and struggling power of the English Company.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RISE OF OTHER HINDU SECTS

1. The Hindu Religious Movements.

A. Rise of Religious Reformers—If we take note of the religious and literary progress made by the people of India under the Muhammadan rule, we shall understand how little the Moslem conquest of India really affected the lives and the peaceful avocations of the people. The sects of Vishnu and of Siva were the prevailing sects in India in the Mediaeval times, and the worship of Rama and Krishna was popular with the millions. And from the eleventh century a succession of religious teachers rose in India, preaching the sublime verity of One God to the millions under the ancient name of Vishnu. The chief teachers were Ramanuja, Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, and Dadu.

B. Ramanuja—It was in the eleventh or twelfth century that Ramanuja preached the unity of God under the name of Vishnu in Southern India, and proclaimed the love of God as the way to salvation. It is said that Ramanuja had to fly from the kingdom of the Chola king into Mysore, that he received converts from all classes of the people in that land, and that he established hundreds of Vaishnava monasteries before he died.

C. Ramananda—Fifth in succession from Ramanuja was the great Ramananda, who preached the same ennobling doctrine in Northern India. He travelled far and wide from Benares, and preached and wrote in Hindi, the language of the people of Northern India. Religious reforms have often led to the improvement and culture of the spoken tongue in India, and the Hindi language was greatly strengthened by his life-work.

D. Kabir—Kabir, a disciple of Ramananda, followed in the same path, and conceived the lofty ideal of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans in the worship of one God. "The city of the Hindu God," he said, "is in the east (Benares), and the city of the Musalman God is in the west (Mecca), but search your hearts, and then you will find the God both of Hindus and Muhammadans". Kabir's teachings, known as *Kabir Chaura*, are

preserved in Benares, and his followers are still numerous in the Deccan, Central India, and Gujarat.

E. **Nanak**—Nanak, born in 1469, preached the same monotheism, and conceived the same great idea of uniting Hindus and Muhammadans in the worship of One God. The *Granth* of Nanak has been translated into English. His peaceful followers, the Sikhs, were converted by the oppression of later Muhammadan rulers into the most martial race of modern India.

F. **Chaitanya**—Almost contemporaneous with the reformer of the Punjab, Chaitanya, born in 1486, preached in Bengal the religion of One God under the name of Vishnu. He too invited Muhammadans to join the sect, but his following was almost entirely Hindu. Nearly the entire population of Bengal, except the higher castes, are to-day virtually Vaishnavas.

G. **Dadu**—Later than Nanak and Chaitanya, Dadu was born in Ahmedabad in 1544, and has left a body of sacred poetry in 20,000 lines. His disciples spread his teachings all through Rajputana.

2. The Rise of the Sikhs.

A. **As a Religious Sect**—The Sikhs, or 'disciples,' originally were a pious sect of Hindus following the precepts of their first guru, named Nanak (1469–1539). He resembled Kabir and many other sages in his teaching which laid strength on the unity of God, the futility of forms of worship, and the unreality of caste distinctions. The first four gurus were merely leaders of a peaceable reformed sect, with no thought of military organisation or political power. In 1577 Akbar, who liked the Sikh teaching, granted to the fourth guru the sight of a tank and golden temple at Amritsar, and so established that town as the head-quarters of the Sikh faith. The fifth guru assisted Khusru and was therefore executed in 1606 by Jahangir.

B. **As a Military Sect**—Under Hargobind, the sixth guru (1606–1645), this sect was transformed into a fierce military order or brother-hood. He was imprisoned by Jahangir, and after the death of the emperor, constantly fought the officers of

Shahjahan. The ninth guru Tegh Bahadur, was executed in 1675 by Aurangzib on his refusal to embrace Islam. (Read, Smith, p. 454). Govind Singh, the tenth guru (1664–1708), was the real founder of the Sikh military power which he organised to oppose the Muhammadans. He bound the Sikhs' fraternity together by instituting the ceremony of *Pahul*, consisting essentially of drinking consecrated water stirred by a sword or dagger and of the partaking of a mixture of consecrated flour, butter and sugar, specially designed to break caste. The brotherhood so constituted was termed the *Khalsa* or Pure, and may be compared with the Templars and other military orders of mediæval Europe. Govind Singh decided to support Bahadur Shah in the war of succession, and consequently accepted service under that prince when he gained the throne. He was murdered by an Afghan in the Deccan in 1708, and was the last of the gurus. Since his death the Holy *Granth* has been regarded as the representative and successor of the gurus. One member of a family may be a Sikh or Singh, while the others were orthodox Hindus. Under Bahadur Shah, the Sikhs rebelled under their leader Bandah. Govind Singh seems to have authorised a man, called *Bandah*, "the Slave," otherwise known as the "False Guru," to take over the military command, but not the spiritual headship of the Sikh Khalsa. Under Bandah, the Sikhs rose in rebellion in 1710 and sacked Sirhind. Bahadur Shah succeeded in defeating the Sikhs and driving them into the hills, but Bandah escaped. But he was hunted down, tortured, and executed with his followers, by the emperor Farruk Siyar. Though their power received a check, in them the British found one of their strongest opponents.

C. As A Political Power—The Sikhs were, however not cast down; and the year 1763 marks the commencement of their political power. Ahmad Shah, the victor of the third battle of Panipat in 1761, was then master of the Punjab, but in 1763 the Sikhs defeated his governor at Sirhind, and in the following year made themselves masters of the whole country from the Jhelum to the Jumna. Each Sikh chief took possession of a group of villages for himself, and tradition still describes how the victors of 1763 rode day and night and conquered villages.

Thus the Sikhs became vritual masters of the Punjab about the same time that the British power was established in Madras and in Bengal. For about forty years the British remained supreme in the east, the Sikhs in the west, and Sindia ruled in Northern India. In 1807, the power of Sindia was crushed in Northern India, and the British took Delhi and Agra; and then for the first time the British and the Sikhs came in contact.

3. The Two Other Chief Sects.

A. The Satnamis—They were a Hindu sect which originated in the reign of Aurangzib. They are described by Khafi Khan as "a gang of bloody miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners and other ignoble beings," whose head-quarters were at Narnaul, now in the Patiala State. In 1672 they rose in rebellion. After some time they were defeated with great slaughter. They never attained any political importance.

B. The Jats—They were the Hindu peasantry of the Punjab. Elphinstone is of opinion that they are of Scythian descent. (See Appendix II in his *History of India*). Early in 1669 the Jat peasantry of the Mathura district rebelled under the leadership of a man named Gokula, and killed the imperial commandant, a zealous Musalman. A big battle ensued in which the rebels lost 5,000 and the imperialist 4,000. Severe measures restored quiet in 1670. But the trouble was renewed in 1681, and again in 1688, and continued to the end of Aurangzib's reign. In 1691 they attacked the mausoleum, breaking in the massive bronze gate, tearing away the costly ornaments, and destroying everything they could carry off. Their wrath against their Moghul oppressors led them to a still more shocking outrage. "Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them into the fire and burnt them". These risings and outrages close to Agra itself show plainly the evils of Aurangzib's policy and the weakness of the Mughal government under Aurangzib.

BOOK II

THE EARLY EUROPEAN TRADERS

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

1. The Early European Settlers in India.

A. The Leading European Powers in India—The chief among the several European settlers were the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. Besides these, there were settlers that represented Danish and German interests, but their activities did not rise to any conspicuous pre-eminence. We will, therefore, only deal with the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English.

B. The Contrast with the Mughal Period—The Mughals, bent on conquest, invaded India from the north; the European settlers, originally animated with less warlike intentions, landed on the southern shores of the Indian mainland. Though the latter came with the purpose of opening commercial relations with the Indians, their coming was fraught with an importance which they themselves could not possibly have realised at that time. For, though the Mughals, who came as conquerors, carried out their ambitious scheme, built an empire, and established Mughal supremacy over India, their power was short lived. They shared the fate of those whom they subjugated, and were themselves defeated and conquered. But the European settlers came in the humble capacity of merchants and traders, and afterwards set to work to lay the foundation of colonial empires. Several of them, like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, secured but a temporary success, but the English founded a permanent empire, which little by little assumed such vast proportions that its history came to be identified with that of the whole of India.

2. The Period of Transition (1761—1818).

A. The Growth of Independent Indian Powers—In the years following the disaster of Panipat, which had destroyed the Maratta confederacy and annihilated for the moment Hindu hopes of supremacy, the predatory armies of the Marattas under the leadership of Sindia, Holkar and other independent chiefs recovered strength with surprising rapidity, and soon acquired a position offering a reasonable prospect of renewed Hindu domination in both Hindustan and the Deccan. Two Muhammadan kingdoms in the south, ruled respectively by the Nizam and the upstart Haidar Ali, and also the Muslim Subadar of Bengal, disputed the Maratta claims to levy systematic blackmail and so to exercise substantially sovereign authority over all the states within their reach.

B. The Fall of the Mughal Imperial Power—During this period the Mughal emperor had shrunk into an insignificant phantom, almost powerless to influence the course of events. The traditional authority of the court of Delhi during the earlier years of the period merely served as the means of giving a colour of legality to the forcible and essentially lawless proceedings of the various parties who from time to time invoked the sanction of the imperial seal. After 1803 the ghost of imperial control was finally laid and the successor of Akbar the Great became a purely titular sovereign, subsisting as a pensioner of the East India Company,

C. The Rise of the British Power in India—Meantime the foreign settlers on the coast had begun to realize the practical value of European superiority in armament, the art of war, and general knowledge. The two principal European nations represented by the factories on the coast were drawn into conflict with each other and as allies of one or other of the warring neighbouring states. Thus the period from 1761 to 1818 is a period of transition in Indian history. Anglo-Indian History does not attain any semblance of unity until 1774, when, under the provisions of the regulating Act of 1773, Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General of India with a certain

amount of ill-defined control over the British settlements in India. The distinct recognition of the East India Company, representing the British Government as the paramount authority in India was deferred until 1818.

3. Sources of Authorities for the British Period.

A. Original Authorities—The records of the East India Company go back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Portuguese archives contain numerous documents of the sixteenth century. From the middle of the eighteenth century, the real commencement of the British period, the mass of contemporary papers, public and private, is almost infinite. Considerable portions of the records have been either printed at length or catalogued,and much of the printed material has been worked up by writers on special sections of the history, but an enormous quantity remains unused.

B. Modern Works on the British Period—James Mill's famous work, the *History of British India*, published between 1806 and 1818, brought together for the first time, to use the author's words, 'a history of that part of the British transactions, which have had an immediate relation to India'. Mill's book, notwithstanding its well-known faults, will always be valuable for reference. No really satisfactory work on the period exists. The reason perhaps is that the material is too vast to be handled properly. The composition of a sound, large work on the subject would be more than sufficient occupation for a long life. (Smith).

4. Contact between the West and East.

A. Importance of Sea Power—The command of the sea acquired by the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately inherited by the British has destroyed the isolation of India. To a modern power possessing an adequate fleet, the sea is a bond of union, not a barrier of separation, and so it has come about that India, while still separated from the adjoining continental Empires of Russia, Persia and China by mountain ramparts, is closely bound to the remote island of Great Britain by means of the British control of the ocean routes. The ports

are now the main gates, and the north-western passes are but posterns. No hostile force entering India by any of the ancient land routes could hold more than a limited area in the north-west against a power exercising command of the sea.

B. Early Commercial Connections with the West—There were three main trade routes. (1) The most southerly of these was the sea route, which went by way of the Red Sea to Alexandria, and thence across the Mediterranean to Venice and Genoa. (2) The middle route skirted the shores of the Indian ocean and followed the caravan roads of Mesopotamia, to the ports of Asia minor or Palestine, whence goods were conveyed to Venic and Genoa. (3) The northerly route was mainly a land track, which led out of north-west India across the spurs of the Himalayas into the valley of the Oxus; there it branched out into two ways, one of which struck north across the Caspian Sea up the Volga to Nijni Novogorod, and thence to the towns of the Baltic and North Sea, while the other branch turned to the west across the Black Sea past Constantinople to the ports of the Mediterranean.

C. The Discovery of Oceanic Routes to India—The conquests of the Turks, however, greatly injured and interrupted this commerce. The Ottoman Empire lay across the southerly routes, and was able to hold them up at many points. By the end of the fifteenth century Christian Europe was in need of a new route to the east, which was not in the grasp of the Turks. The small country of Portugal was foremost in the work of discovery. Henry the Navigator (1394—1460) devoted his life and fortune in discoveries. He gave a start to navigation by his school of navigation, observatory, arsenal and inventions of improved instruments. Bartholomeo Dias reached Cape of Good Hope in 1486. Vasco da Gama set sail from Lisbon in 1497 and reached Calicut on May 20th, 1498.

5. The Features of British Expansion in India.

A. Contrast with Previous Conquests—Whereas all previous conquests of India have been made from the mountains southward to the sea, the English have acquired their dominion

by an expansion from the sea northward to the mountains. It need hardly be observed that this very remarkable exploit could only have been performed by virtue of great naval strength and superiority. While Russia has been laboriously following the well-known and well-worn routes of conquest by land through the central steppes of Asia, the English have reached South Asia swiftly and securely by the open water-ways.

B. **An Unique Instance of Dominion**—The expansion of England in India constitutes a political situation unprecedented in the world's history. The two countries are far distant from each other, in different continents; they present the strongest contrasts of race and religion. There is no previous example of the acquisition and successful government of such a dependency, so immense in extent and population, at such a distance from central power. A state that is distinctly superior to its neighbours in the arts of war and government has often expanded into a great empire. The Romans in ancient days and the Russians in modern times united, under an extensive dominion, a number of subject provinces and client kingdoms but the mass of their territory has been accumulated by advancing step after step along the land from the central starting-point. This was not so in the case of the Indian empire. During the time when the English were establishing their predominance in India, and long afterwards, England was separted from India by thousands of miles of sea; the Atlantic and Indian oceans lay between. The government of the English in India may thus be said to present an unique instance of the dominian over an immense alien people in a distant country having been acquired entirely by gradual expansion from a base on the sea. (Lyall).

CHAPTER II. THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

[Danvers, *Portuguese India*, Vol. I aud II; Innes, *A Short History of the British in India*, Ch. IV; *Imperial Gazetteer*, Ch, XIII; Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, pp. 1—16]

1. The Portuguese as Traders—1498—1508.

A. The Trade Policy—From the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, from Alexandria and Constantinople, from Venice and Genoa, the rich trade of India with Europe was now transferred to the ocean-going peoples of Western Europe. It was cut off in the Indian seas and almost monopolized for a time by Portugal, whose sovereigns improved their opportunity with remarkable activity, sending out fleets to range over the whole coast of Southern Asia from the Persian Gulf to Ceylon. "The early Portuguese navigators were not traders or private adventurers [as was the case with the English], but admirals with a royal commission to open up a direct commerce with Asia, and to purchase Eastern commodities on behalf of the King of Portugal". (Hunter).

B. Vasco da Gama—In 1497 Vasco da Gama set sail from Lisbon, and on May 20, 1498, he landed at Calicut on the Malabar Coast. The local ruler, Zamorin, gave him a friendly welcome and looked for profitable trade relations. He wrote to the King of Portugal—"In my country there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral and scarlet". Though Gama was animated with peaceful commerce, he was not allowed peacefully to carry it on. He had first to meet and overcome trade rivals. He was looked upon as a dangerous rival by the Arab merchants who then held the monopoly of the trade with India and were the carriers of the Arabian sea trade. The Arabs resented the intrusion of the strangers, and embroiled the Portuguese with the Zamorin. They convinced the Zamorin to have nothing to do with the western adventurers whom they represented as pirates bent on depredatory designs. The result was that Gama made an alliance with the Raja of

Cochin, the Zamorin's enemy, and destroyed the Arab fleet. Thus Gama was obliged to return to Portugal without having been able to establish a warehouse or factory at Calicut. The safe arrival of Gama at Lisbon was celeberated with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those which greeted the return of Columbus. If the West Indies belonged to Spain by priority of discovery, Portugal might claim the East Indies by the same right. "The Portuguese mind became intoxicated with dreams of a mighty oriental empire."

C. Alvarez Cabral—A second expedition, consisting of thirteen ships and twelve hundred soldiers, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, was despatched in 1500. On his outward voyage, Cabral was driven westward by stress of weather, and discovered Brazil; but ultimately he reached Calicut in September 1500. He found himself in the same predicament as his predecessor. The Arab traders once more made the establishment of commercial relations an impossibility. The factors were murdered by the Arab merchants. Thereupon Cabral withdrew from Calicut, and succeeded in establishing factories at Cochin and Cannanore. The Portuguese next tried to make good the loss of national prestige which followed the double rebuff they had met with at Calicut. Two expeditions were sent out for that purpose, one led by Vasco da Gama and the other by Alphonso Albuquerque. But these attempts did not prove successful; and the two commanders had to return to Portugal without having in any way distinguished themselves. But after Albuquerque's departure, Duarte Pocheco won great military fame by his heroic defence of Cochin, which the Zamorin failed to capture, though his followers numbered 50,000, whilst the little band of the Portuguese that warded off their repeated assaults numbered only 400. These victories in the defence of Cochin, on both land and sea, raised the prestige of the Portuguese to its height,

D. Francisco Almeida—In 1505 a large fleet of twenty sail and fifteen hundred men was sent under Francisco de Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy of India. "Almeida was also the first Portuguese statesman to develop a distinct policy in India." He saw that, in the face of the opposition of Muhammadan

merchants, whose monopoly was infringed, it was necessary to fortify factories on land, in which to carry on trade. But he wished these forts to be as few as possible, and that the chief power of Portugal should be on the sea. He thus inaugurated the "armed trade" policy of European settlers in India. He had also a new danger to meet. The Sultan of Egypt perceived that the discovery of the sea-route from Europe to India round the Cape of Good Hope was ruining the transit trade through his country. He, therefore, despatched a fleet to exterminate the Portuguese forces in Asia. The Sultan's admiral won a victory off Chaul 30 miles south of Bombay, in 1508, in which Almeida's son Lorenzo was killed while gallantly fighting his ship against heavy odds, but on February 2, 1509, he won a great victory off Diu over the combined Indian and Egyptian fleets. Thus he made Portuguese influence supreme by establishing Portuguese naval supremacy in the Indian seas. The danger of a general union of the Musalmans against the Portuguese was thus averted for the moment, and the quarrel between the Turks and Egyptians that ensued gave time for the Christians to consolidate their power firmly in India.

2. The Portuguese as Conquerors—1509—1565.

A. The New Policy—With Alphonso Albuquerque, who succeeded Francisco Almeida as the Viceroy of India, in 1509, a new colonial policy was adopted by the Portuguese in India. He was the founder of the Portuguese colonial empire in the East. He was not slow to realise that Portuguese influence would never be widespread and lasting as long as his countrymen only had factories. He abandoned the system of Almeida, and resolved to establish a Portuguese empire on the mainland of India, based on the possession of important points along the coast, and on playing off the native princes against one another. Accordingly he set to work to establish a colonial empire by the military occupation of territories and by the seizure and building of harbour-towns. It was this policy inaugurated by Albuquerque which the Portuguese constantly pursued during the whole of the sixteenth century. Its wisdom was made plain by the splendid results which followed in its wake.

B. Alphonso Albuquerque (1509—1515)—In 1509 he succeeded as Viceroy in India and widely extended the area of Portuguese influence and empire. (*a*) His Conquests—Having failed in an attack upon Calicut, he seized Goa in 1510, which, from 1530, became the capital of Portuguese India. Sailing round Ceylon, he captured Malacca, the key to the navigation of the Indian Archipelago, and opened a trade with Siam and the Spice Islands. Lastly, he sailed westerward, and after penetrating into the Red Sea and building a fortress at Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, returned to Goa, and died in 1515. (*b*) His Administration—In the administration of the Goa district he made free use of Hindu officials and clerks, and established schools for their education. He also employed a force of sepoys, or native soldiers, and had the courage to prohibit absolutely the burning of widows (*Sati*) which continued to be lawful in British India till 1839. (*c*) His Policy of Conciliation—Albuquerque alone endeavoured to concilate the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes, who were better pleased to have the Portuguese, as fairly governed by him, for their neighbours and allies, than the Muhammadans whom he had expelled or subdued. The justice and magnanimity of his rule did as much to extend and confirm the power of the Portuguese in the East, as his courage and the success of his military achievements. "In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there utter their complaints as if in the presence of his shade, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors". (Hunter).

3. The Successors of Albuquerque.

A. General Feature—Some of the successors were great statesmen; many were gallant soldiers. The names of four of them stand out brightly in the history of the Portuguese in India. It may be noted that Gama was sent out to India for the third time in 1528, but he died at Cochin after a rule of three months.

B. Nuno da Cunha (1529—1538)—He first opened up direct and regular trade with Bengal, with Hugli and Chittagong as the head-quarters. He sent 400 Portuguese soldiers to assist the Muhammadan king of Bengal against Sher Shah in 1534; and his intervention had the effect of causing many Portuguese to settle in Bengal. They were never formed into a regular governorship, but remained in loose dependence on the Captain of Ceylon. Yet they became very prosperous, and their head-quarters of Hugli grew into a wealthy city. After the capture of Hugli by Shah Jahan in 1632, the bravest of the Portuguese in Bengal became outlaws and pirates, and in conjunction with the Arakanese preyed upon the sea-borne commerce of the Bengal coast. Another great achievement of Da Cunha was the defence of Diu in 1530. Sulaiman the Magnificant, the Sultan of Turkey, having consolidated the Turkish power by his conquest of Epypt, prepared to accomplish the task which the Sultan of Egypt had attempted thirty years before. But the Portuguese were in a better position to resist than they had been in the days of Almeida. Nuno da Cunha had obtained possession of the island of Diu, a place much coveted by Albuquerque, from the Sultan of Gujarat in 1535, and now it was beseiged by the armies of Gujarat on land, and by the vast Turkish and Egyptian fleet. Diu stood a terrible seige in 1538, and the defenders at last beat off the assailants. Cunha did not live to see this glorious result, for he was maligned by enemies and sent home in custody, and it was reserved for his successor to releive Diu.

C. Joao de Castro (1545–1548)—He was no unworthy countryman of Albuquerque and Da Cunha. He relieved Diu, which was again attacked by the Sultan of Gujarat, whom he defeated in one of the greatest victories ever won by the Portuguese in India. But it was not only as a warrior, but also as a statesman, that Joao de Castro won his fame. In the three short years of his administration, he tried to reform the errors of the Portuguese colonial system. The trade with India was a royal monopoly, and crowds of officials resorted to speculation and corruption in order to enhance their salaries from the Crown. He endeavoured to cleanse the Augean stable, and

by his own upright character set an example to his compatriots. It was during his rule that the Portuguese, in addition to being a trading and a governing power, became a proselytizing power. Hitherto Catholic priests had come to India to tend the souls of the Portuguese. But now began the era of missions to the heathen. This development of missionary effort was largely due to the "inspiring exertions of St. Francis Xavier;" the Jesuits followed this missionary pioneer of their Order, and the whole authority of the Portuguese Government was practically placed at the disposal of the Christian missionaries after this epoch.

D. Constantino de Braganza (1558—1561)—He was a prince of the royal house of Portugal. He attempted, and not without success, to take up the task which had proved too hard for De Castro, during his rule from 1558—1581. But he is better remembered as the conqueror of Damaun, one of the places still belonging to Portugal.

E. Lius de Athaide (1568-61 and 1578-81)—He had during his term of viceroyalty to meet a formidable league of opponents. The defeat of the Hindu Raja of Vijayanagar in the battle of Talikota in 1565 left the Muhammadan Sultans of the Deccan at liberty to act against the Portuguese. A great league was formed by them, which included even the half savage King of Achin. All the Portuguese Settlements on the Malabar Coast, as well as Malacca, were besieged by overwhelming forces. But the Portuguese commanders rose to the occasion and everywhere they were triumphant. The Viceroy, in 1570, defended Goa for ten months against the Sultan of Bijapur, and eventually repulsed him. The undisciplined native troops were unable to stand against the veteran soldiers of Portugal, 200 of whom, at Malacca, routed 15,000 men with artillery. When, in 1578, Malacca was again besieged by the King of Achin, the small Portuguese garrison destroyed 10,000 of his men. Twice again, in 1615 and for the last time in 1628, Malacca was besieged, and on each occasion the Achinese were repulsed with equal bravery. But the increased military forces sent out to resist these attacks proved an insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

4. The Portuguese Empire in India.

A. The Extent of the Empire—Towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese possessions extended over more than 12,000 miles of coast-line; from Massowah on the western shore of the Red Sea along the whole eastern coast-line of Africa down to the Cape of Good Hope; from Kamaran Island near the eastern shore of the Red sea along the coast-line of Southern and Eastern Arabia, of Southern Persia, of Western India, and of Eastern India up to Madras; from the delta of the Ganges along the whole coast-line down to the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula. Besides this, the Portuguese held the coast-line of Madagascar, Ceylon, Northern Sumatra, Northern Java, Southern and Eastern Borneo, Celebes, Timor, and of a number of small islands in the Malay Archipelago. In India their possessions were Goa, taken in 1510, Diu in 1534, Damaun between 1538 and 1545, and Salsette and Bombay. In 1700 they possessed all of these except Bombay.

B. The Control of the Empire—All these coasts were either under effective Portuguese control or within their sphere of influence. Over this immense area they had about thirty factories in the most favourable positions. There were also a number of garrisoned forts to deal with interior insurrections and with exterior aggressions. But their real strength lay in their maritime control of all the Eastern Seas. They patrolled all the important sea-routes, compelled the traders of other nations to buy their passports, and jealously kept for themselves the immense harvest of the wealth of the East.

5. The Portuguese Administrative Policy in India.

A. The Treatment of Indians—One of the charges levelled against the Portuguese by most historians is cruelty. Indeed there had been hard and cruel men among the Portuguese as had been the case with other European settlers also. But it is both unjust and untrue to lay on all the Portuguese settlers the blame rightly deserved by a few. As far as historical evidence goes, there is nothing to support the statement that it was the policy of the Portuguese to work systematically for the

oppression of the Indians. On the contrary there is plenty of evidence to show that the Portuguese, far from oppressing the Indians, treated them in many respects as their equals; they practically ignored what is called the colour bar.

B. •Religious Policy—The other charge is religious persecution. In fact there is some exaggeration in the view taken by Smith and Hunter. The Portuguese did not prevent Hindus or Muslims from practising their religion in private; but they forbade outward and public acts and signs of worship, and that not all along the coast-line, but only within the limits of the Portuguese fortified towns. Within the same areas they confiscated mosques and temples, diverted their revenues to the support of Churches, and at times even destroyed them to build Catholic places of worship. But this was not universally and consistently practised as a policy, but was adopted sporadically by individuals acting upon their own personal initiative. The Portuguese made it likewise a part of their policy to exempt those Indians who embraced Christianity from paying taxes; while they did not extend the same privilege to non-Christians. Similarly Christains alone were eligible to Government service, to live within the precincts of the Portuguese forts, and to enter into marriage alliances with Portuguese Officers. As regards the Inquisition it must be remembered that it dealt not with Hindus or Muhammadans, but with converts to Christianity who had not been sincere in the change of their religious opinions. When Hindus or Muhammadans were arraigned before this tribunal, it was not because they were Hindus or Muhammadans, but because they indulged publicly in evil practices, such as witchcraft, which were opposed to Christian law.

6. Causes of the Fall of the Portuguese Power.

A. Internal Causes—The main internal cause was inherent in their empire. It was a colonial empire without a hinterland. The interior of the countries of which they held the coast-line, remained practically independent. The result was that on the occasion of an interior insurrection or of an exterior aggression, even a temporary set-back was doomed to end in disaster, because of the impossibility of retreating. A successful

interior insurrection simply swept them off the coast into the sea, and a successful exterior aggression meant the capitulation or the extermination of the settlers. "The Portuguese ruled the sea, but made no attempt to usurp sovereignty by land" (Innes, p. 40). Secondly, the Portuguese were gradually demoralised; they became idle and venal, and in private life they became extravagant and profligate. Thirdly, the religious policy of preferential treatment of Christians at the expense of Hindus and Muhammadans must have, in the long run, considerably alienated the non-Christian subjects. Fourthly, resources and energy of the small Portuguese nation at home were soon exhausted owing to the insupportable drain on the revenues and population of Portugal.

B. **External Causes**—The first important factor that largely contributed to the collapse of their colonial empire, was Portugal's absorption by Spain in 1580. Spain robbed Portugal of life and energy. Secondly, "destruction in 1565 of the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar, with which Goa did much business, was a serious blow to the prosperity of that city." (Smith). The Portuguese power and prosperity in India fell with the fall of the Empire of Vijayanagar. Thirdly, "the Portuguese flourished only in the absence of competition". The coming of better and more powerful traders like the Dutch and the English was detrimental to the Portuguese monopoly in the East. The Dutch became the most formidable rivals of the Portuguese in the East Indies. Portuguese power rested solely on their maritime supremacy, and when this supremacy passed into Dutch hands, their Indian Empire collapsed. Between 1641 and 1644 the Dutch captured almost all their stations in Ceylon and on the Malabar coast. Fourthly, the Marattas plundered the land to the very gates of Goa in 1683, and in 1739 they captured Bassein, their northern capital. Besides other native princes also pressed upon them from the land. Lastly, it must be borne in mind that "in India, they had not to deal with a folk so unsophisticated in the arts of war as was found by the Spaniards in Mexico and Peru; the Indian artillery was good and plentiful." (Innes, p. 40). Under the cumulative action of all these circumstances, the Portuguese power in India collapsed.

CHAP. II. THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH TRADERS.

[Lyall, *British Dominion in India*, Ch. I, Sec. II; *Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 451—453.]

1. The Growth of the Dutch Power in the East.

A. The Coming of the Dutch—The Dutch were the first European nation who broke through the Portuguese monopoly. Between 1597 and 1600 the Dutch ships had first rounded the Cape of Good Hope into Asiatic waters, where they were very fiercely handled by the Spanish forces in that quarter. In 1602 the Universal East India Company had been founded in Holland, with exclusive privilege of trading east of the Cape and west of the Magellan Straits, with a great capital, with full power to make peace and war in the name of United Provinces.

B. Conflict with the Portuguese and Spaniards—In the beginning the English had co-operated with the Dutch, and there was a proposal by Holland that the Dutch and English should form one Joint Stock Company, but it failed. (Lyall, p. 15). But both agreed cordially in their inveterate hostility to the Portuguese and Spaniards. They spared no pains to beat off and expel the Portuguese from the coast of India, and defeated the Portuguese in many fierce battles.

C. Dutch Settlements in the East—(*a*) Outside India—In 1605 the Dutch captured Amboyna in the Moluccas from the Portuguese. In 1619 they laid the foundation of the city of Batavia as the seat of the Supreme Government. In 1641 they took Malacca, a blow from which the Portuguese never recovered. In 1652 they founded the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, as a half-way station to the East. In 1658 they captured Jaffnapatam, the last stronghold of the Portuguese in Ceylon. (*b*) In India—In 1609 they obtained a factory at Pulicat, and from 1616 they were established at Surat. Between 1661 and 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their setttements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar, and by 1664 they possessed factories at Masulipatam, Negapatam, Tranquebar, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Patna, Dacca and seven stations in Malabar, the principal one being Cochin.

2. The Decline of the Dutch Power.

A. Conflict with the English—"The knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759 he attacked the Dutch at Chinsura, by both land and water, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation." During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811, the English wrested from Holland every one of her colonies, although Java was restored in 1816, and Sumatra exchanged for Malacca in 1824. At present the Dutch flag flies nowhere on the mainland of India.

B. Causes of the Decline of the Dutch power—(*a*) Internal Causes—"Between the Dutch Republic and its East India Company the connexion was exceedingly close . . . . Armed with a valuable monopoly, and left to their own devices, the English Company relied not so much upon State aid as upon their own wealth and energy." Lyall, p. 20). Secondly, although the Dutch had many forts and a much larger territory than the English, their policy of seizing all the points of vantage had this drawback, that it involved them in quarrels with the native Chiefs, and crippled their capital by heavy military charges. Moreover, gradually the State help decreased. Lastly, "Their somewhat short-sighted commercial policy, which was based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, though effective in the Malayan Archipelago, hardly fitted them to play a great part on the continent of India. (Gazetteer, p. 452). (*b*) External Causes—The Dutch were soon exhausted by the three fiercely contested naval wars with England, 1652—4, 1665—7, and 1672—4, and the almost continuous struggle with France from 1672 till 1713. Besides the English had increased influence at the native Courts of India.

C. The Importance of the Dutch in India—"The Dutch contribution to Indian History is their having weakened the Portuguese when the latter were already sinking under the effect of their own corruption." (Keene). The Dutch, moreover, dealt severe blows at the early French settlements in India, and "thus unwittingly smoothed the path of the English." (*Gazetteer*).

3. The Coming of the English.

A. Early English Adventurers (1496–1600)—(Read *Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 453—4). "The first modern Englishman known to have reached the Indian peninsula was Thomas Stephens in 1579." He became the Rector of the Jesuit College at Goa. His letters to his father are said to have roused great enthusiasm in England to trade directly with India. In 1583 four English merchants—Ralph Fitch, John Newbery, William Leedes, and James Story—went out to India overland as mercantile adventurers. After the defeat of the Armada in 1588 which gave a fresh stimulus to English maritime enterprise, Queen Elizabeth granted in 1591 the petition of some merchants to send a squadron direct to the East. Another followed in 1596 under Benjamin Wood.

B. The East India Company—(*a*) Formation—On December 31st, 1600, Elizabeth incorporated 217 merchants of London by Royal Charter, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies." (*b*) First Epoch—The first epoch in the Company's history is that of 'separate voyages' from 1601–1612, each of which was organised by a particular body of subscribers and was wound up on the return of the ships by realization of the profits. The early expeditions were directed to the Islands of the Spice Archipelago rather than the mainland of India. It was not till the third voyage that landing was made on the coast of India (1608) and a factory was established at Surat. In 1609 the Second Charter was obtained which extended the period of Company's privileges from 15 years to perpetuity, unless they proved unprofitable to the realm when they might be terminated on three years' notice. (*c*) Second Epoch—After 1612 a change was made in the financial organisation of the Company, and the period of "Separate Voyages" was followed by that of "Joint Stocks." These, however, must be distinguished from the great permanent Joint Stock of 1657. The change simply meant that groups of adventurers for single voyages were replaced by somewhat less ephemeral groups for three or four voyages.

C. English Settlements in India—The first English factory or trading station was established at Surat in 1608 and confirmed by Imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612. In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I to Emperor Jahangir. In 1644 a factory was established at Vizhingam in Travancore. In 1661 Charles II obtained the island of Bombay as a part of the dowry of Princess Catharine of Braganza. The king granted this to the Company for £ 10 a year. "This marks an important stage in the development of the Ango-Indian Empire." (Smith). In 1640 the side of Madras was purchased; it comprised only six square miles of "a dreary waste of land". The earliest English trading station on the east coast was at Armagaon in the Nellore District in 1625; and at Masulipatam, and in 1633 at Balasore and Hariharpur in Orissa. In 1651 a settlement was made at Hugli and in 1690 John Charnock founded Calcutta where Fort St William was built in 1696.

D. The Policy of the Company—(1) I Stage (1600-1686)—The Period of Quiet Trade—The Early policy of the English in India, was the "Roe Doctrine"—"A war and traffic are incompitable...... Let this be received as a rule, that if you will profit, seek it at sea and in quiet trade." (Thompson, p. 232). (2) II Stage (1686-1741)—The Period of Armed Trade—In 1686, with the war with the Mughal, the Company entered upon a period of armed trade. This war was important because "it drew from the English the earliest expression of a political aim." In 1687 the Directors wrote to the Council of Madras, directing them to establish such a "policy of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come."

4. The Growth of the Company.

A. The United East India Company—The Company's monopoly of trade had long been a source of antagonism to them on the part of other merchants. Some of these licensed merchants, were called 'interlopers' who in defiance of the Company's monopoly undertook voyages to India and established themselves

as traders there. The Company were held responsible by the native authorities for the conduct of all traders of their own nation. A rival East India Company was incorporated in 1698 by an Act of Parliament and received its Charter from the king as "The English Company trading to the East Indies," which enjoyed the most influential patronage and support. But its affairs could not prosper, and it involved the English in India in another quarrel with Aurangzib. Both parties, however, came to see the folly of this strife and division, and by an act of Parliament of 1702, the two companies were united. Importance of this Union—"This rivalry settled two leading principles. First of all, it established the sole right of Parliament to confer or regulate a monopoly of trade.........Secondly, the system of a monopoly, exercised by a Company, was deliberately preferred by Parliament to that of trade open to all British subjects." (Thompson, p. 236). "The effect of this measure was to concentrate all the enterprise, capital and maritime experience of one powerful corporation upon the consolidation of our position in South Asia." (Lyall, p. 57). Till 1813 this Company alone had the monopoly, and after that date, though the principle of monopoly was kept up, it was thrown open to other companies.

B. **Obstacles to the successful development of the Company**—Dangerous situation of early settlements in India in the 18th century made the Company adopt the policy of armed trade which made English settlements self-protective and self-governing. The chief obstacles were the damaging contest with the interlopers and rival companies, private trade of the Company's servants owing to inadequacy of the pay of the servants, (removed by Clive and Hastings), systematic piracy of Maratta piratical state on the Konkan coast, (checked by Clive and Hastings), and the struggle with the French traders.

CHAPTER III. THE FRENCH TRADERS.

[Malleson, *The French in India*, Ch. I—III: *Imperial Gazetteer*, Ch. XIII; Innes pp. 45—47; Lyall, Ch. IV]

1. The Coming of the French.

A. The Three Periods of French Colonization—The history of French colonization is ordinarily divided into three periods: the period of the great discoveries, which is carried up to the death of Henry IV in 1609; the era of grand colonial expansion in the 17th century; and the period of decline during the hundred years that intervene between the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 and the end of the great French Wars in 1815.

B. The Pre-Colbert Period—The earliest efforts of the French were devoted to the establishment of a station not in the Indies but on the route thither. In 1642 Richelieu founded his Company of the East which concerned itself mainly with the colonization of Madagascar. Early in the 18th century this station was transferred to Mauritius. During this period the religious idea was dominant in France. "The propagation of Christianity was placed upon a level with the plantation of colonies as a direct object of these expeditions. (Lyall).

C. Colbert's Period—The period of great colonial expansion was inaugurated when Colbert, the famous minister of Louis XIV, launched in 1664 his two Companies of the East and West Indies. In 1668 the East Indian Company obtained privileges of trade at Surat and at Masulipatam. It captured San Thome from the Dutch, but it was recovered by the Dutch in 1674. At Pondichery Martin founded a new city on the site bought from the Bijapur Viceroy.

2. The Growth of the French Power.

A. Francois Martin—He established the settlement of Pondichery and acquired the adjoining lands, and brought Pondichery to such a high degree of solid prosperity during twenty-five years (1681—1706) of wise and courageous administration, that he is regarded by some French writers as the true founder of French India. "It was consistently Martin's policy

to impress native Rulers with the idea that the French were desirable and useful tenants." (Innes, p. 45). In 1693 the Dutch captured Pondichery, but it was restored to the French by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

B. •Lenior—In the meantime Surat had been given up altogether with discredit, a heavy debt being left behind. Lenior, the Governor of Pondichery, removed the ill effects by receiving unexpected supplies from France and by wisely considering the liquidation of the Surat debt, as indirectly a better investment than the purchase of merchandise. French credit was so immensely enhanced by this transaction that, when financial difficulties arose, assitance was given freely and without hesitation by the wealthy natives. In 1725 Mahe was secured. (Innes, p. 46).

C. Dumas—The prestige of the French in the Carnatic was raised to an unprecedented level by the cool and far-sighted courage of Dumas. He had cultivated the friendliest relations with the reigning Nawab, the lieutenant of the Nizam, and sheltered himself and his family in Pondichery when attacked by Bhonsle of Nagpur. The Nizam was greatly impressed by the Frenchman's courage, and rewarded him by imperial honours and the official designation of a "Commander of 5000." In 1741 he was succeeded by Dupleix.

3. The Position and Fortunes of the Companies.

A. The Position of the Companies in 1741—The British had been in the field about twice as long as the French, and held important fortified settlements; in the Carnatic at Madras, with the subsidiary fort of St. David some hundred miles to the south, at Cuddalore; on the Hugli at Calcutta or Fort William; on the west coast at Bombay, besides minor factories at Surat and Patna. The French, besides minor factories, had Pondichery in the Carnatic, Chandranagar on the Hugli, and Mahe on the West Coast. The Dutch and Portuguese also had their establishments at Goa, Chinsura, Nagapatam and elsewhere, but they took no effective part in the struggle. (For an account of Scottish Danish, Ostend, Swedish, Imperial, and Prussia Companies, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, pp. 464—67).

B. Relations of the Companies to their Governments—"The French Company was a perpetual tax on the Exchequer; the English Company paid money into it. Consequently there was a standing inducement to the British Government to support the Company even at some risk. In France the inducement was to be deaf to the Company's appeals. Consequently, though the Indian Governors of both might be equally enterprising, the attitude at home was more antagonistic to enterprise in France than in England." (Innes, pp. 47—8).

C. Causes of the Failure—The Portuguese failed because they attempted a task altogether beyond their strength—the conquest and conversion of India. The Dutch failed on the Indian continent, because their trade was based on a monopoly which it was impossible to maintain, except by great and costly armaments. The French failed, in spite of the brilliancy of their arms and the genius of individuals, from want of steady support at home.

D. Causes of the Success of the English—"England emerged the prize-winner from the long contest of European nations for India. Her success was partly the gift of fortune, but mainly the result of four elements in the national character"—a marvellous patience and self-restraint in refusing to enter on territorial conquests or projects of Indian aggrandizement, until she had gathered strength enough to succeed; an indomitable persistence in those projects once they had entered on; an admirable mutual confidence of the Company's servants in one another in times of trouble; and the resolute support of the English nation at home. (*Gazetteer*, p. 468).

BOOK III.

THE RISE OF THE BRITISH DOMINION (1741—1765)

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

1. State of India, 1707—1741.

A. Muhammadan Power—With the death of Aurang-zib in 1707 began the disruption of the political system of India. The long stationary period was drawing to its end; an era of great conquests was reappearing. "The Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm, and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them." (Lyall, p. 64).

B. The French and British in India—It was during this period of tumultuary confusion that the French and English first appeared as rivals upon the political arena in India. After the settlement of Europe accomplished by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, France and England alone faced each other as serious competitors for the prize of Indian commerce, having distanced or disabled all others.

C. Southern India—In the Deccan proper Nizamulmuk founded an hereditary dynasty, with Hyderabad as its capital, which exercised a nominal authority over the entire south. The Carnatic was ruled by a deputy of the Nizam, known as the Nawab of Arcot. Trichinopoly was a capital of a Hindu Raja, and Tanjore formed another Hindu kingdom under a degenerate descendant of Sivaji. Mysore was gradually growing into a Third Hindu State. While everywhere local Chieftains called Poligars or Naiks were in semi-independent possession of hill forts, and these represented the deputies of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

2. Relative Resources of the English and French.

A. In India—In India the condition generally speaking was more favourable to the French. From the point of view of *men*, France had a superiority: they had great leaders and a very efficient army of sepoys with Pondichery as head-quarters. But from the standpoint of *material* resources, the English had a large business, a great part of which was in their hands. The control of the sea was in their hands. Thus from the beginning they had a naval and commercial superiority while the French had a military superiority.

B. In Europe—In Europe the advantages were almost on the side of the English. The English Company had a better organisation and had experienced leaders in whom Parliament showed great interest. Their finances rested completely on trade profits and not on government support. However, the home government was willing to help their company more than the French government was disposed to help theirs. The French Company was the creation of the Government and a State concern, and when the State looses its concern it was bound to fail and fall. Thus though the English could not depend on an immediate success, they could rely on a remote one.

3. Causes of the Anglo-French War in India.

A. National Rivalry in Europe—With the accession of William III to the English throne began the national rivalry between the English and the French, and the war in India is but a part of the great "Second Hundred Years' War". "The story of the Indian contest is but an episode of that grand international drama which was played out in the next fifty years with many changes of scenes and character." (Lyall).

B. Political Aims of the French—Dupleix, who had already distinguished himself as the Governor of Chandernagar, found in the south a larger field for the exercise of his abilities, and devised an ambitious policy based on interference in the affairs of the Native States, and aimed at the destruction of the English settlements, and the foundation of a French Empire in India.

CHAPTER II. THE ANGLO-FRENCH WAR.

[Malleson (1) *French in India* Ch. IV—XII, (2) *Dupleix*, (3) *Clive*; Lyall, Ch. V, and VI; Innes, Ch. VI; Thompson, pp. 240—250].

1. The First War—Official War—(1745—1748).

A. Causes—(1) State of Carnatic Politics—Nizamulmulk had seen with impatience, first one and then another set up as Nawab of Arcot without his leave. In 1743 he marched south to impress his authority on the presumptuous chieftains. He appointed one of his nobles, Anwaruddin, to act as guardian to the boy of Safdar Ali and returned to Hyderabad; but in the same year the boy was murdered, and the Nizam made Anwaruddin Nawab in his stead. Dupleix found this a favourable oppurtunity to help Native Princes for his own purpose—the destruction of the English Power in India and the establishment of a French Empire in India. (2) Declaration of War in Europe—The Austrian Succession War, begun in 1740, developed into a war between England and France in 1744. Dupleix then made his preparations for attacking the English.

B. Course—*(a)* First Phase (1745)—An English fleet appeared first on the Coromandel Coast, but in order to gain time Dupleix induced the Nawab to interpose with an order forbidding hostilities within his jurisdiction. *(b)* Second Phase—(1746). A French squadron arrived under La Bourdonnais, Covernor of Mauritius, and Madras surrendered after a few days' bombardment. Though Dupleix desired to destroy the fortifications of Madras and surrender the place to the Nawab, La Bourdonnais made an agreement with the English authorities to hold the city to ransom. Due to the quarrel between the Governor and the Admiral the latter returned to Mauritius. Being angry that Madras was not made over to him, the Nawab marched with 10,000 men to drive the French out of the city, but was defeated. *Importance.* Dupliex established "at one blow, an immense military reputation for the French in the Carnatic, since the ease and rapidity with which the Nawab's army was dispersed at this first collision between the regular battalions of Europe and

the loose Indian levies." (Lyall). Dupleix thereupon declared null and void the agreement with the English. *(c)* Third Phase (1747). Dupleix sent a large force against the English fortress of St. David (Cuddalore), but it was sharply checked. *(d)* Fourth Phase (1748). Admiral Boscawen arrived from England with a formidable fleet and 1,500 soldiers, and invested Pondichery by land and sea. But as the French had failed before Fort St. David, so the English failed before Pondichery. In 1749 the news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle stopped the fighting in India, and Madras was restored to the English in exchange for the restitution of Louisburg in the North America to the French.

C. **Results**—The chief outcome of this sharp wrestle was a notable augmentation of the French prestige in India. (Lyall, p. 84). Another effect was to change the character of the two Companies and to deepen the colour of their rivalry. (Read Lyall, p. 89). The war also showed clearly the importance of sea-power for European competitors.

2. The Second War—Un-official War—(1751—1754).

A. **Causes—Deccan and Carnatic Politics**—The first war with the French was merely an incident in the greater contest in Europe. The second war had its origin in Indian politics, while England and France were at peace. Disputed succession at Arcot and at Hyderabad supplied Dupleix another opportunity to check the English. On both thrones Dupleix placed his nominees and posed as the arbiter of the entire South. The English at Madras, under the instinct of self-preservation, were driven to support other candidates to the thrones of both Arcot and Hyderabad, in opposition to the nominees of Dupleix. Thus this War of Succession caused the second war between the Engligh and French in India.

B. **Course**—*(a)* First Phase—French Success—In 1751 Muhamad Ali and his allies the English were beseiged in Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib and the French. The French candidate Muzaffar Jang became Nizam and appointed Dupleix, governor of the Peninsula from the Krishna to Cape Comorin. On his death Bussy secured the succession to his own nominee,

Salabat Jang whom he accompanied to the capital. Thus "the tide of Dupleix's success had now reached its highest point." (Innes, p. 68). (*b*) Second Phase—English Success—The appearance of Clive, the founder of the Indian Empire, marked a turning point in the war. He purposed, and was allowed to carry out, the "desperately audacious" scheme of attacking *Arcot* to relieve the beseiged at Trichinopoly. "The one incident that stands out conspicuously is the capture and subsequent defence of Arcot by Clive in 1750. This heroic feat, even more than the subsequent battle of Plassey, spread the fame of English valour through India." (*Gazetteer*). In 1752 the French and their allies finally surrendered Trichinopoly.

C. **Results**—The English influence predominated in the Carnatic, and their candidate, Muhammad Ali, maintained his position at Arcot. The French were supreme in the Deccan, and the government of the maritime tract, called the "Northern Circars," was granted to the French for their help to the Nizam. The war led to the recall and fall of Dupleix in 1754.

D. **Estimate of Dupleix's work and Policy**—(*a*) Work—Dupleix was a man of genius and far political vision, and his genius had engendered the first conception of founding a great European Empire in India and showed not only the possibility of the achievement but the right method of accomplishing it. The English followed the path that the genius of French opened out to her. Two important discoveries for conquering India were, first, the weakness of the native armies against European discipline, and secondly, the facility of imparting that discipline to natives in the service of Europeans. However, Lyall remarks that he cannot be ranked as an original discoverer in Asiatic warfare and politics. (Lyall, p. 98). (*b*) Policy—Why, with so much energy, ability, and patriotism, he made so little way? To those who maintain that, but for the blindness of the French Government towards the ideas of Dupleix, the blunders of colleagues or subordinates, and the final disavowal of Dupleix, France might have supplanted England in India—the true answer is that these views betray a disregard of historic proportion, and

an incomplete survey of the whole situation. They proceed on the narrow theory that extensive political changes may hang on the event of a small battle, on the behaviour at some critical movement of a provincial General or Governor (Read Lyall, pp. 96—105).

3. The Third War—Official War—(1757—1761).

A. **Cause**—By the treaty which concluded the previous war both the French and the English were to abjure the Mughal titles and to keep from meddling in political affairs. Until this treaty was confirmed by the Directors in Europe each party was to remain as it was without making any military move. Meanwhile the English and then the French violated its provisions. War broke out in Europe between the two nations—the Seven Years' War (1756—1763)—and the two companies naturally continued their struggle in India.

B. **Course**—Count de Lally was sent out by the French Government to expel the English from India. He landed in 1758 and captured Fort St. David. But he alienated the sympathy of his subordinates and quarrelled with the Governor. Being envious of Bussy's power and influence, he summoned him from the Northern Circars. At this juncture Colonel Forde, sent by Clive from Bengal, landed at Vizagapatam, and defeated the French. He stormed Masulipatam in 1756 and broke at one blow the French power in the Northern Circars, which were made over to the English Company. Lally invested Madras, but the arrival of an English fleet under Sir Eyre Coote raised the siege. In 1760 Coote won the decisive victory of Wandiwash in which Bussy was taken prisoner. In 1761 Pondichery was invested and surrendered. A few months later Ginji also surrendered. "That day terminated the long hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its Government in any part of India".

C. **Results**—Though the Treaty of Paris restored to the French their trading stations in 1763, they were never again able to contend on equal terms with the English in India. The trading stations were dismantled and made permanently useless for military purpose. (Read Lyall, Ch. VI. Sec. 11).

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE OF BRITISH DOMINION IN BENGAL

[Lyall, Ch. VII; Innes, Ch. VII; Thompson, pp. 259—267].

1. Clive's First Governorship in Bengal (1756–1760).

A. Relations with the Nawab of Bengal—*(a)* "The Black Hole of Calcutta."—Alivardi Khan died, having appointed as his successor a grandson, named Sirajudhaula. The latter found fault with the English at Calcutta for giving shelter to one of his subjects, and attacked the English and imprisoned them in the "Black Hole of Calcutta." The atrocity of this tragedy aroused an intense feeling against the Nawab, and a force was sent north under Clive and Admiral Watson. Calcutta was recovered without difficulty, and the army of the Nawab was put to fight. Then the French settlement of Chandranagar was reduced. *(b)* Mir Jaffar Affair—The government of Sirajudhaula made him despicable even to his own nobles and subjects. His commander-in-chief Mir Jaffar and his chief financial advisers, conceived the idea of deposing him and placing Mir Jaffar on the throne with British assistance. Omichand, a Hindu merchant, was employed as a go-between, and towards the end, when all parties had committed themselves beyond the possibility of retreat, he threatened to betray the plot to the Nawab, unless he were promised thirty lakhs of rupees. Two copies of the agreement were drawn up, one on red and another on white paper. The red copy alone contained the provision for Omichand and was shown to him. It was signed by Clive and the signature of Watson who refused to sign it, was deliberately forged. When the plot had proved successful, Omichand was told how he was duped. "In this negotiation Clive was guilty of the deceit which is the blackest stain on the record of public service." (Thompson). (For his defence, read Innes, p. 78). *(c)* The Battle of Plassey (1757)—Clive's tone to the Nawab changed and he wrote setting forth the British complaints. This led to the Nawab's march downwards and Clive with his army marched upwards towards

Plassey. The Nawab was thoroughly defeated. Results and importance—"The battle of Plassey was fought on June 23rd 1757, an anniversary afterwards remembered when the Mutiny of 1857 was at its height. History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British Empire in the East. . . . . . For the moment, however, all opposition was at an end. Clive, again, following in the steps of Dupleix, placed Mir Jaffar upon the viceregal throne at Murshidabad, being careful to obtain a patent of investiture from the Mughal Court at Delhi." (*Gazetteer*, p. 476). 'By this sudden and violent revolution the English ascendancy became at once established in Bengal." (Lyall, p. 132). The Nawab made a grant to the company of the Zamindari or land-holder's rights over an extensive tract of country round Calcutta, now known as the District of the Twenty-four Parganas. (For the amount of money paid to the British officers see Gazetteer, p. 477).

B. Relation with the Dutch—He next attacked the Dutch, the only other European nation who might yet prove a rival to the English. He defeated them by land and water, and their settlement at Chinsura existed thenceforth only on sufferance. (See the map of Lyall, p. 136).

2. The Period of Misrule (1760—1765).

A. General Condition—"This is the only period of Anglo-Indian History which throws grave and unpardonable discredit on the English name. During the six years from 1760 to 1765, Clive's absence from the country left the Company's affairs in the hands of incapable and inexperienced chiefs, just at the moment when vigorous and statesmanlike management was urgently needed." (Lyall, p. 144).

B. Mir Kasim—In 1761 it was found expedient and at the same time profitable to dethrone Mir Jaffar, and to substitute his son-in-law Mir Kasim, as Nawab in his place. On this occasion besides "private donations," the Company received a grant of three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong estimated to yield a net revenue of 50 lakhs.

C. Quarrels with Mir Kasim—*(a)* Cause—The Company's servants claimed the privilege of carrying on their private trade throughout Bengal free from inland dues. This

caused affrays between the customs officers of the Nawab and native traders, who, whether truly or not, represented that they were acting on behalf of the servants of the Company. The Governor Vansittart and Warren Hastings, then a junior member of Council, attempted to effect some compromise, but failed. 2,000 Sepoys and 200 Englishmen were massacred at Patna in 1763. *(b)* Course—The English force took Patna, but was afterwards defeated and many were taken prisoners. Major Adams thrice defeated Mir Kasim who then fled to Oudh and made a coalition with the Nawab of Oudh. Both of them were defeated by Hector Munro in the decisive battle of Buxar (1764). *(c)* Results—This victory laid Oudh at the feet of the English, and brought the Mughal emperor a suppliant to the English camp. Mir Jaffar was restored. "By this war the English were drawn into connexion with upper India, and were brought out upon a scene of fresh operations that grew rapidly wider." (Lyall, p. 148).

3. Clive's Second Governorship in Bengal (1765-67).

A. Clive's Policy and Work—Two landmarks stand out in his policy. First he sought the substance, although not the name, of territorial power, under the fiction of a grant from the Mughal Empire. Second, he desired to purify the Company's service, by prohibiting illicit gains, and by guaranteeing a reasonable pay from honest services. "Our efforts towards a sound administration dates from his victory at Plassey." (Hunter, p. 479). Clive's work may be classified under three heads—first, his reform of the Company's civil and military services; secondly, the acquisition of the *Diwani* or revenue administration of Bengal; and thirdly, his external policy.

B. Reform of the Company's Services—*(a)* The Need for Reform—Finding themsevles entirely without restraint or responsibility, the Company's servants naturally behaved as in such circumstances, with such temptations, men would behave in any age or country. "Some of them lost all sense of honour, justice and integrity"; they plundered as Mughals or Marattas had done before them, though in a more systematic and business-like fashion; "the eager pursuit of wealth and its

easy acquisititon had blunted their consciences and produced general insubordination." (Lyall, p. 145). (*b*) Clive's Reforms—Clive arrived in India in May, 1765, and acted with his usual decisive promptitude. Finding that to stem the tide of corruption with the existing Council of Bengal would be a hopeless task, he nominated his Select Committee two days after his landing. He forced the Company's servants to subscribe the covenants against the receipt of presents, and the system by which they had been enabled to escape the regular internal imposts on their private trade, was abolished. Clive himself was in favour of the total abolition of licensed private trading, and advocated a large increase in official salaries; but he could not win the Court of Directors to his views. It must be remembered that private trade was tolerated because of their meagre salaries; at this time a Member of Council received less than £ 300 a year as his salary; a factor was paid about £ 140. However, he reduced the retail price of salt and arranged that this monopoly should be worked by an Association, the profits being distributed according to a fixed scale among the higher servants of the Company—the Governor received £ 17,500 per annum; a Colonel in the army or a Member of Council, £ 7000; and lower ranks, lesser amounts in a descending scale. By these reforms he had alienated the whole of the civil service in Bengal, and by abolishing, as he had been required to do, the custom of extra pay or "double batta" allowance of the officers in the army, which properly only granted on active service, had been continued by Mir Jafar since Plassey in time of peace, he incurred the relentless enmity of the officers. When they threatened to mutiny, he suppressed the incipient revolt with equal tact and daring. "It was unfortunate that the man to introduce a new and better regime should have been one who had enriched himself under the old bad system; and the young men at Calcutta, who boycotted Clive, did not forget to throw his past in his teeth." (Thompson).

C. The Acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal—By two cardinal acts of public policy he settled the English dominion on a sure foundation within the Company's territory

and regulated their foreign relations—the acquisition of the Diwani and the Treaty of Allahabad. The acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal was the first great step by the Company towards territorial dominion. Before Clive reached Bengal, he had come to the conclusion that some such responsibility must be incurred. He wrote from Madras, "we must become Nabobs in fact if not in name, perhaps totally so, without disguise." The *Diwani* conferred upon its holder the right to collect and administer all the revenues of the province, and Clive prevailed upon the Emperor Shah Alam to confer this momentous power upon the East India Company. Henceforth its servants were to collect the revenues and defray the charges of government; to pay to the Nawab a fixed sum of 53 lakhs of rupees (reduced to 41 lakhs in 1766 and to 32 in 1769), and to the Emperor 26 lakhs.

D. The Dual System—(*a*) Explanation—The constitutional relations between the Nawab of Bengal and the East India Company were settled by the "dual system" established by Clive. The Nawab or Subadar of Bengal, as Viceroy of the Mughal Emperor, exercised two functions—the *Diwani, i. e.*, revenue and civil justice, and the *Nizamat, i. e.*, military power and criminal justice. Of these the Nawab had practically granted the *Nizamat* to the Company in February 1765, and in August 1765 the Emperor ceded to them the *Diwani.* "The Company thus held the *Diwani* from the Emperor and the *Nizamat* from the Subadar." So far the position, though highly technical and intricate, is not difficult to grasp. It was further complicated by the fact that the servants of the East India Company as yet did not undertake their duties as Diwan or Nizam in their own persons. The nominal head of the administration was a Deputy Naib or Nawab, whom the Nawab bound himself to appoint with their sanction. A similar Deputy was appointed for Bihar. The whole administration was for many years conducted almost entirly through native agency, though in 1769 English supervisors, afterwards called Collectors, were appointed to control the native revenue officers. Thus from the year 1765 the Nawab of Bengal ceased to be more than a name and a

figurehead. He was a pensioned cypher and the whole of the power was really in the hands of the Company. But instead of themselves performing all the duties which belonged to them as rulers, the Company relegated a large part to deputies whom they appointed. These were Muhammad Raza Khan for the Province of Bengal at Murshidabad, and Shatab Rai for Bihar at Patna. The whole of the departments of revenue collection, of civil and criminal justice, and of the police, was left in the hands of these two men without any adequate supervision by the Company. Thus the duality did not consist merely in this, that there was the Nawab on the one part, a powerless king, and the Company on the other part, an all-powerful Minister; for in this sense, there may be said to have been a dual system at Poona, and all Indian States had a tendency to run into such a type. The duality was constituted by the fact that though the Company had become the real ruler, they did not choose to execise all the functions of their office. Keeping a part only for themselves, they assigned the rest to deputies: there was a complete separation of military power and civil responsibility. The Company held the sword, and the Naib Diwans had the actual duty of revenue collection, of civil and criminal jurisdiction and of the police, without any adequate supervision by the Company. (Thompson). (*b*) Criticism—According to the testimony of Kaye, they only 'made confusion more confounded and corruption more corrupt.' "It was easy even at that date to point out its defects. The unfortunate divorce of power from responsibility soon caused a recrudescence of the old abuses. The policy indeed can only merit approval in so far as it led up to the more open assumption of responsibility by the Company under Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis. But Clive could not afford to indulge in counsels of perfection; he had to deal with actualities. He admitted that the Nawab had only 'the name and shadow of authority,' yet 'this name....this shadow it is indispensably necessary that we should venerate'. As Verelst—an acute observer—noted, it was almost impossible at first to have taken over the full management, because of limited number of the Company's servants and their ignorance of the task of

administration. There was finally the consideration that openly to have assumed the government of Bengal would have caused a breach with other European powers, and Clive was supported in this by the almost universal opinion of the statemen of his day". (Roberts).

E. **Clive's External Policy**—(*a*) The Treaty of Allahabad (1765)-With the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the whole political system of Northern India was in the melting-pot. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam and his Chief Minister were in the Company's power and suppliants for their bounty. Oudh lay defenceless before British armies. Clive determined to confine the territorial influence of the Company to Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa; to restore his forfeited dominions to the ruler of Oudh; to recognize the title and, as far as possible, support the power of Shah Alam. Shuja-ud-daula was called upon to pay 50 lakhs of rupees as a war indemnity, and was reinstated in his possessions with the exception of the districts of Kora and Allahabad. A defensive alliance was concluded whereby the Company engaged to provide him with troops for the defence of his frontiers if he needed them and consented to furnish the cost of maintenance. The English were confirmed in the possession of all their other territories in India. Shah Alam conferred the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa on the Company; Clive made over to him the districts of Kora and Allahabad for the support of his imperial dignity, together with an annual subsidy of 26 lakhs. Clive also obtained from the Emperor the reversion of his *jagir* to the Company, when his own ten years' enjoyment of its revenues should be terminated. (*b*) Importance of the Treaty—This treaty marks a landmark in Indian history. The settlement with Oudh was destined to be the most lasting of Clive's political acts, and it remained in the condition of a 'buffer' state till its annexation by Lord Dalhousie on the eve of the Mutiny. It was a great step in advance to extend British sway over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. (*c*) Criticism of Clive's Policy—The settlement with the Emperor easily laid itself open to attack from political theorists. Clive was at once accused of being quixotically generous to a political

fugitive and of having treated cavalierly a monarch in distress. Men were found, of whom Eyre Coote was one, to advocate a British march to Delhi and the conquest of all India in the name of Shah Alam. But Clive, though he recognized that "It is scarcely a hyperbole to say that tomorrow the whole Mughal Empire is in our power," was not to be dazzled by these brilliant prospects. It was a great step in advance to extend British sway over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and even so he begged the Court "not to be staggered at the magnitude of their possessions". He knew as well as any one that, from a purely military point of view, there was nothing to stop British troops from advancing to Delhi; but he was a statesman as well as a soldier, and deliberately recorded his opinion that "to go further .... is a scheme so extravagantly ambitious and absurd that no governor and council in their senses can even adopt it unless the whole scheme of the Company's interest be first entirely new modelled". How right was Clive's judgment was proved by the fact that during the next twenty years the frontier of British dominions was only defended with difficulty from external enemies. The Maratta onset was repelled, but had the British lines been thrown further forward, it is probable that in the troublous times ahead they could not have been held. (Roberts).

F. Estimate of Clive's Work and Character—Clive left India in January 1767, shattered in health and spirits, (1) He had carried considerable reforms, though the partiality of biographers has sometimes exaggerated them. The Company's civil service was not thoroughly purified till the time of Cornwallis, but Clive had done more than any one man at the time could have hoped to accomplish. But his greatest achievement was the laying the foundation of the British Empire in India. "He settled great foundations," said Burke; "When Lord Clive forded a deep water with an unknown bottom, he left a bridge for his successors over which the lame might hobble and the blind might grope their way". (2) As to his character, he had a certain rough-hewn, almost elemental force and a tireless energy which made him a true pioneer of empire. The note of his character was decision and an iron will. He diagnosed a situation

quickly, knew exactly what he wished to attain, and directed his course thither relentlessly. As a soldier he was a great leader of men; but Pitt's famous description of him as a heaven-born general is hardly appropriate. As Sir Charles Wilson (English Men of Action series—*Lord Clive*) says, "his successes were due rather to his personal intrepidity, and to his power of inspiring larger masses of men with confidence, than to studied plans or dexterous manoeuvres". All his contemporaries in India, even when they hated and feared him, seem to have acknowledged his personal force. His old commander, Lawrence, described him as "a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind, which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier". Four years after his return he was charged in Parliament by his enemies of robbery and oppression, but he argued with justice that he had taken nothing in secret and had accepted presents only when it was lawful to do so. Clive is in himself an epitome of the history of the English in India—first a merchant, then a soldier, and last a statesman. Lord Macaulay's lofty verdict is that "our island has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great, either in arms or in council".

BOOK IV

GROWTH OF THE BRITISH DOMINION (1765-1805)

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY

[Lyall, Ch. IX and X. Innes, pp. 91—94]

1. Interval between Clive and Hastings.

A. State of Indian Politics in 1765—"The year 1765 when we became in this manner firmly settled in Bengal, marks a halting place on the onward movement of our territorial expansion." (Lyall, p. 162). The north-western gates of India were soon double-locked against outside invasion. The independent Afghan Kingdom formed an excellent barrier against all attempts to break into India from Central Asia by the only land routes through which an army can enter. The Afghans themselves were about this time barred off from the Punjab by the Sikhs. The rapid expansion of the power of the Sikhs, who are Hindu sectaries, illustrates the almost invariable process by which in Asia every great religious movement tends to acquire a political and military character. The two tendencies of course interact on each other, for while a religious revival is sure to rally under its flag a good deal of political discontent, on the other hand civil commotions usually set up the stand and appeal to the sanction of religious enthusiasm. (Lyall). The rapid political development of the Sikhs under military chiefs was extending their power across upper India from the Sutlej to the Indus. They were thus erecting a second and inner barricade against inroads from Central Asia, which cut off the communication between Islam in India and the rest of the Muhammadan world. Then below the Sutlej river, further to the south-east, there was a belt of Muhammadan principalities extending from Delhi to beyond Lucknow, holding all the rich central districts along the Jumna and Ganges, but threatened on the north and west by

the Sikhs and Marattas. Of these principalities the most important was Oudh, whose territory covered the whole north-western flank of the Company's possessions in Bengal. By the settlement effected by the Treaty of Allahabad the English had for the time nothing to fear from that quarter. Thus the jealousies and religious animosities of all these states, Hindu and Muhammadan in North-Western India, constituted a kind of balance of power, which explains the almost entire immunity from disturbance on their Bengal frontier enjoyed by the English for the next forty years.

B. Character of the Period—The period was by no means one of peace and tranquility for the English in India. On the contrary, it was a time of constant war that severely strained the English resources and occasionally placed their dominion in some jeopardy. The stress of the contest with the native powers falls backward towards Madras and Bombay—with the Muhammadan rulers of Mysore and the Marattas in the centre of India.

C. The First Mysore War (1767—1769)—(*a*) Causes-In Mysore Hyder Ali had pushed his own fortunes and made himself master of Mysore, and was extending his territories to the west and to the east. Madras Government were serriously concerned to protect the Carnatic which he threatened. The Nizam entered into a treaty with Madras Government who pledged themselves rather vaguely to protect him in case of war. But finally the Marattas and Nizam came to a private understanding with Hyder Ali, and thus left the Company alone to fight him. (*b*) Course—The campaign was very ill managed from Madras. (Read Thompson, 269—70). (*c*) Results—The war resulted in two treaties—one with Hyder Ali and the other with Nizam. "If the beginning of the war was a political blunder, another and worse one was made in ending it". (Lyall, p. 167). The treaty described all the contracting parties, of whom the principal were the English, Hyder Ali and the Marattas, as reciprocally friends and allies of each other, provided that they did not become aggressors against one another so that each party incurred a loose and vaguely worded obligation of assisting the others in the event of future hostilities. A similar compact was

made with the Nizam. These treaties made the Madras Government liable to be called upon by any three turbulent princes whenever the next quarrel should break out among them.

D. **Sequel to the War**—In 1770 the Marattas attacked Hyder when each of these treaty-parties demanded aid from the English, and each of them proved indisputably that his enemy was the aggressor. The Madras Government, having been sharply censured by the Directors for the last war and being in no way anxious to strengthen any of them, offended both by refusing to interfere. The result was the Marattas inflicted upon Hyder Ali some humiliating defeats, which he attributed to the faithless desertion of him by the English, and that he became thenceforward a vindictive enemy, watching for an occasion, which he soon found in the Second Mysore War.

2. The Original Constitution of the Company.

A. **Indian Constitution**—*(a)* The Company's possessions were divided between three independent *Presidencies* in Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Each Presidency had its own Governor and Council, with its servants graded as senior and junior Merchants and Writers. The salaries of all were so low that they were in effect allowed to increase their incomes by unrestricted private trading. *(b)* The governing bodies had *jurisdiction* within their own areas; but whatever lands they held, they held as tenants of the Country Powers. They had authority to raise troops, of which they maintained only a few hundreds until the practice of raising and training regiments of Sepoys was developed; and their chief settlements were fortified. (In this connection may be read Ch. IX, "The Life of the English in the East," in P. E. Roberts' *History of British India*).

B. **Home Constitution**—*(a)* The power of the authorities in India was modified by that of the superior authorities at home. "When twelve months was about the least time that could pass between the sending of a despatch and the receipt of the answer thereto, it was obvious that very much must be left to the judgment of the authority on the spot". (Innes). Yet it was necessary to avoid steps which would involve a grave risk

of censure, and no line of policy could be adopted which would seriously subvert that laid down in instructions from home. *(b)* It was possible for collisions to occur between the two governing bodies in London—the Court of Proprietors, consisting of all who held five hundred pounds worth of stock, to whom lay the final appeal, and the Court of Directors, elected from the Proprietors, in whose hands was the general management, to which possibility may be added that of Parlimentary pressure whenever questions could be raised as to the scope of the Company's Charter, and the legitimacy of introducing modification therein. (Innes).

3. Parliamentary Interference.

A. **Causes**—"In England although State interference with private enterprise had never been a popular duty, there was growing up a conviction that it had become necessary to place the doings of the East India Company under national control" (Lyall, p. 171). The astonishing acquisition of so rich a province as Bengal, and the discreditable sight of a few commercial agents handling the wealth of a kingdom. The British Government wanted a share of the profits and took £ 4,00,000, annually from the Company as a royalty. Abuses of administration—official discipline was relaxed, finances lapsed to extravagance and agents of government still meddled in private trade. Party contests among the Directors (Lyall, p. 174). The Company showed signs of insolvency by declaring its inability to pay £ 4,00,000, as before. Conclusion of the Seven Years' War gave the necessary facility for enquiry.

B. **Course**—Two Select Committees were appointed "to enquire into the state, nature, and condition of the Company, and of British affairs in the East Indies." The Committees brought up condemnatory reports. The Commons passed resolutions declaring that all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the State. Two Acts were eventually passed in 1773, one enabled the Ministers to lend the Company £ 1,400,000 to discharge their obligations, and the other, the Regulating Act, changed the constitution of the Company and gave a Parliamentary title to their administration.

C. **Result—The Regulating Act (1773)**—The great change was the introduction of the office of the Governor-General. The Governor-General in Council had a general authority over the three presidencies. A Supreme Court of Justice was established having an ill-defined jurisdiction, which was set up side by side with the Governor-General in Calcutta. The Courts of Directors and Proprietors were made more oligarchical. "The main obstacles to the smooth working of the new consistitution were, first, the entire dependence of the Governor-General on the votes of his Council; secondly, the conflict of jurisdictions; and lastly, the want of a supreme legislative authority, nearer than England, to arbitrate in the quarrels and to mark off the proper sphere of the executive and judicial departments." (Lyall, p. 180—81).

CHAPTER II. WARREN HASTINGS (1772—1785).

[Trotter, *Warren Hastings*; Lyall, Ch. XI: Innes, Ch. IX—X].

1. Hastings as Governor of Bengal (1772—1774).

A. **His Internal Policy**—(Trotter, Ch. VI). (*a*) Revenue—The first thing he did was to remove from office the two Diwans. He farmed out the revenue for 5 years by the system of auction. It worked well, but was later on transformed by Cornwallis. (*b*) Administrative Reforms—He replaced natives by English Collectors with the Civil management of several districts. Over a group of districts or collectorates he appointed Commissioners. Revenue Boards at Patna and Murshidabad were transferred as one Board to Calcutta and the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Nawab's stipend was reduced to half—16 lakhs of Rupees, and the process of retrenchment was applied to the pension list and the expenses of the Nawab's household. (Trotter, p. 63). He repressed corrupt and oppressive practices among the Company's servants. (Trotter, p. 64). In 1774 the powers of the new English Collectors were

transferred to native Diwans and Amils, controlled in fiscal matters by a Committee of Revenue. The Collectorates were grouped into six divisions. (Trotter, p. 67). (*c*) Judicial Reforms—Several Courts were established—District Courts for Civil and Criminal jurisdiction in each district and Courts of Appeal for Civil and Criminal appeals at Calcutta—the Chief Civil Court, called the Sadr Diwani Adalat, presided over by the Governor-General with two members of the Council, and the Chief Criminal Court; called the Sadr Nizamat Adalat, presided over by a native Judge appointed by the Governor-General in Council. Another important reform was the publication of Indian Codes of Hindu and Muhammadan law for guidance of the new courts. (Trotter, p. 68). (*d*) Results of His Reforms—Thus the net result of the reforms introduced by Warren Hastings was that the control of the revenue administration had been assumed by the Company's servants—the actual collection being made, as a rule, through Zemindars, or farmers of revenue, supervised by the Board of Revenue with a staff of English Officers; and that a number of District Civil Courts had been established with rudimentary regulations for their guidance. Criminal jurisdiction, as a thankless and unproductive department of Government, was left still in the hands of the Indian Deputies. The Company was as before, Merchant and Soldier, but it had now become also Collector and Civil Magistrate in part.

B. His External Policy—(1) Relation with Shah Alam—He had gone off with the Marattas to Delhi, and Hastings held, with reason and justice, that by that act he had forfeited all title to consideration from the English and had cancelled the agreement between himself and them. It was not to be expected that the Company would continue to pay a tribute, which would have gone into the pockets of the Marattas and strengthened their position against the English. Hastings, therefore, discontinued the payment of the annual subsidy of 26 lakhs (2) Treaty of Benares with Oudh (1773)—For the sake of economy he cut down the allowance of the Nawab to 16 lakhs—half of what it had been according to the last arrangement and by the Treaty of Benares, he transferred the districts of Kora and Allahabad

to the Nawab for a payment of 50 lakhs. Hastings reduced the military expenditure by lending a British brigade, to be supported entirely by the Nawab, for a compaign against the Rohillas on his western frontier; and a further sum of 40 lakhs was to be paid on the successful termination of the war. (3) The Rohilla War—The need for strengthening the Nawab of Oudh by the annexation of the ill-governed country of Rohilkhand against the Maratta danger to the English possession of Bengal led to the war. Col. Champion entered Rohilkhand and routed 40,000 Rohillas with heavy slaughter. The Company's army received 10½ lakhs of Rupees as a donation. Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh. Criticism on the War—"To check the Marattas and to strengthen the buffer State of Oudh became the cardinal principle of Hastings' policy." The result from the point of view of English political interests, was to complete our defensive position towards the north-west by substituting a safe and submissive ally for untrustworthy neighbours upon an important section of the barrier, and it is certain that the plan succeeded. "Nevertheless this advantage was gained by an unprovoked aggression upon the Rohillas, who sought no quarrel with us, and with whom we had been on no unfriendly terms." (Lyall).

2. Hastings as Governor-General (1774—1785).

A. **His Internal Policy**—The first event was the introduction of the *Regulating Act* to India in 1744. The Councillors were General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Philip Francis, and Richard Barwell (old). (Smith, p. 521). The Judges were Sir Elijah Impey, Chambers, Hyde and Le Maistre. Another important event connected with his administration was the Nuncomar affair. Nuncomar was a Brahmin Zamindar with an evil character for intrigue, who had a grudge against Hastings and now saw his opportunity for revenge. He professed to have evidence that Hastings had acted corruptly. Hastings refused to be judged by the hostile Council. Meanwhile Nuncomar was arrested on a charge of forgery, and the Supreme Court found him guilty, and according to the severe English law of that day, he was condemned to be hanged. (Comment, Smith, 526).

B. His External Policy—The Rohilla campaign was the only war directly planned and undertaken by Hastings; although he was constantly engaged during seven stormy years, beginning in 1776, with the support and supervision of military operations. From this time forwards up to the end of the century the battlefields are all in the west and south of India. In Bengal the subsidiary alliance with Oudh remained the cornerstone of the Company's defensive system. (1) But in Bombay the President and Council, being anxious to distinguish themselves by the acquisition of territory, especially of Salsette, which is close to Bombay, entered into a long, costly and unprofitable war--the First Maratta War (1778—1782). "The essence of the whole matter is that the Marattas were at this period far too strong and too well united to be shaken or overawed by such forces as the English could despatch against them. They held in the centre of India a position which enabled them to threaten all the three divided English presidencies, to intrigue successfully against us at Hyderabad and Mysore, and to communicate with the French by their ports on the western sea-coast". (Lyall, p. 191). By the Treaty of Salbai which concluded the war in 1782, the chief gains to the Company were the secure possession of Salsette, and the establishment of a friendly power in Gujarat—the principality of the Gaikwar of Baroda. (2) Another event during his Governor-Generalship was the Second Mysore War (1780-84). By the Treaty of Mangalore which closed it in 1784, each party restored places taken from the other. The English power in India underwent some perilous vicissitudes during this period, and with the Treaty of Mangalore the ring of enemies by which Hastings had been encompassed was at last broken. (3) When the resources of the Company were being exhausted by the prolonged military operations of the Maratta and Mysore wars, Hastings was under the necessity of getting money from some source or other for his empty treasury. In his financial straits, he resolved to obtain a settlement with Chait Singh, the Raja of Benares, and Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh. Chait Singh was the Zemindar of the district round Benares, and was a mere feudatory of the Company, which had

the power of a suzerain over him. Though the ordinary tribute due from him in times of peace was limited to 22 lakhs, Hastings considered it quite justifiable for the Company to demand from him extraordinary help for the necessities of war. When Chait Singh declined to meet the heavy demands, he was arrested and imprisoned. Then he escaped and fled to his fortress of Ramnagar across the river. His fortresses were easily taken, and another was recognised as Raja and the amount of the annual subsidy was enhanced. (4) Then Hastings turned against the Nawab of Oudh, who was heavily in arrears for the payment of the regular and extraordinary contingents stationed in his territories. He declared that he could not discharge his debts, unless he were permitted to take possession of the treasure and jagirs of the two Beguns, his grand-mother and mother. He maintained that these really belonged to himself, as the occupant of the throne and successor to the late Nawab, although the Council had allowed the Begums to retain them. Hastings consented to the Nawab's resumption of the property and to a large reduction of the military charges, on condition that the Nawab cleared up his arrears. The Begums were ordered to surrender the treasure and lands, and when they refused, they were placed under restraint till they complied with the Nawab's demands. (5) Dual System at Madras—This differed from that of Bengal, for the Company had never received the gift of the Diwani in the south. Muhamad Ali was recognised as the ruler and he collected the revenues of his territories through his own agents. The Company was simply an ally, or armed servant, acting on his behalf and in his name. The Nawab was always in arrears, and the Council was generally pressing him for money. But owing to his mismanagement his revenues fell short. In 1781 at the height of their distress, the Council compelled the Nawab to hand over the management of his revenues during the war, on condition that one-sixth part should be paid to him.

C. **Estimate of his Work**—Pitt's Bill of 1784 clearly showed him that his resignation was desired. (See the next Chapter). He therefore resigned, and died at the age of 85 in peace with honour. His trial began on February 13th, 1788,

and ended on April 23rd, 1795 with a verdict of acquittal. (Smith, p. 548). His mastermind regulated and sustained all movements and brought order out of chaos. For several years he was engaged in a life and death struggle, and his first care was to preserve the existence of the Company's power. None can say that his acts are free from blame, but no gross crime can be laid to his charge. If he erred, it was never from a regard for his own interests, but from an excess of zeal in the service of his country. In spite of political distractions, he found time to lay the foundations of civil government. Besides organising the revenue and judicial services, he caused the first Digest of Hindu Law to be compiled by a Committee of Pandits, and the Muhammadans owe to him the Calcutta Madrasa. He encouraged the formation of Asiatic Society and thereby started the new and scientific study of the literature and antiquities of India. If Clive was the founder of the British dominion in India, Hastings was the founder of the British administration.

CHAPTER III. LORD CORNWALLIS

[Lyall, Ch. XII–XIII; Innes, Ch. XI, Smith, Bk. VII, Ch. 5]

1. Interval between Hastings and Cornwallis.

A. Connection between Indian and European Politics.—"Throughout the eighteenth century the main alternations of peace and war in India kept time with the successive ruptures and renewals of amity between France and England." "The French rivalry ceased, but their navy could always threaten the Indian seaboard, and the safety of all our communications with India depended entirely upon the result of the maritime wars between the two nations" (Lyall, p. 201).

B. State of India in 1785 (Map, Lyall, p. 205)—(*a*) The English Progress—Before Hastings the Company had acquired Bengal and Behar, Madras, Cuddalore, Northern Circars and Tuticorin. Under Hastings were secured Benares and

Ghazipur, Bassein and Salsette. On the whole the period of Hastings was a stationary period. Under Hastings the English had a critical period during Maratta and Mysore Wars. After him the danger continues in the Sikh, Maratta and Mysore Wars. "The English ascendancy in India at this time had by no means been conclusively established." (Lyall). Two lessons had been learnt by the English—"It had been proved in the first place that the united naval forces of Europe could not drive the English from the sea, or wrest from her the command of great routes across the ocean between Europe and Asia. Secondly, it had by this time become clear that so long as their transmarine communications with the mother country could be preserved, and so long as their invaluable possession of Bengal remained undisturbed, the English ran no risk of permanent or vital injury either from the Marattas or from Mysore." (Lyall). (*b*) The Position of Indian Powers—The Sikhs became a compact organisation. The Marattas were pushing forward under Sindia, endeavouring to carve out for himself an independent principality in the upper provinces in Northern India. Mysore under Tippu was waiting for an opportunity to take vengeance upon the English with the co-operation of the French under Napoleon.

2. Parliamentary Interference (1780—1784).

A. **Causes**—The connection between the British nation and its great Indian dependency grew closer and the points of contact multiplied. The value of her magnificent acquisition became known in England, and national rights and duties were clearly recognised. The end of the war of American Independence facilitated the interference. For seven years after the passing of the Regulating Act (1773), popular attention had been mainly occupied with the rebellion of the North American Colonies and the war with France, but from 1780 India again attracted the notice of the politicians.

B. **Course of Interference**—(1) In 1780 Lord North passed an order in Parliament that three years' statutory notice of intention to dissolve the Company should be given. (2) In 1781 a new Charter Act prolonged the Company's privileges for

ten years and still further extended the control of the state over it in two directions:—(*a*) three-quarters of any surplus, after a dividend of eight per cent. had been paid, was to go to the Treasury; (*b*) as the Regulating Act had obliged the Court to communicate to ministers all despatches received *from* India relative to revenue, civil, and military affairs, so they were now compelled to submit for inspection all such despatches sent *to* India. (3) In the same year Parliament appointed two committees, the first 'Select' and the second 'Secret,' to inquire into the administration of justice in Bengal, and to investigate the causes of the war in the Karnatic. These committees presented voluminous reports, and in May 1782 the House of Commons resolved that Hastings and the President of Bombay should be recalled from office, but the proprietors refused to ratify the resolution. (4) In 1783, when the period of notice was expiring, Fox brought forward his India Bill, by which for four years all political and military power should be transferred to seven Directors or Commissioners, to be appointed at first by Parliament and afterwards by the Crown; all commercial business was to be controlled by nine "assistant directors," also to be nominated in the first instance by Parliament but afterwards by the Court of Proprietors. A storm of opposition arose, but secure in a big majority, ministers opposed the storm. Bill passed triumphantly through the Commons, but due to the influence of the King, George III, the Lords threw it out. In March 1784, Parliament was dissolved, and when the new one met, Pitt came to power.

C. Result—Pitt's India Act (1784)—(*a*) *Importance*—"The Indian Bill brought in by him supplemented by a declaratory Act a few years later, remained the instrument under which our Indian possessions were governed, with minor modifications, until the extinction of the Company in 1858." (Innes). Pitt's famous statute was the culminating point of one of the recurrent periods of state inspection into East Indian affairs. This measur practically made the East Indian Company, in everything except its patronage and commerce (now rapidly dwindling), a subordinate department of state." (Roberts). (*b*) *Changes introduced by it*—(1) *Indian Constitution*—Each of the three Presidencies was to

have its own Governor and Commander-in-Chief and two other members of Council; but the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal were to be supreme also over the other two provinces. The Governor-General had very full powers, which were so far increased at the insistence of Lord Cornwallis that he could act on emergency without his Council. He was, however, to abstain from compromising alliances without directions from home. (2) *Home Constitution*—Civil and Military matters were to be controlled by six "Commissioners for the affairs of India," popularly known as the "Board of Control," consisting of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one of the principal Secretaries of State, and four Privy Councillors. The Directors retained their patronage and their general power of issuing instructions; but they were subordinated to the parliamentary Board of Control, changing with the ministry of the day. The orders of the Board were to be transmitted to India through a secret committee of the Directors, and the Court of Proprietors was deprived of any right to annul or suspend any resolution of the Directors approved of by the Board. (*c*) *Criticism*—"This system of double government, by the Company under the Control of a minister directly responsible to Parliament, lasted until 1858. The immediate effect of Pitt's Act was a great and manifest improvment in the mechanics of Indian Government, removing most of the ill-contrived checks and hindrances which had brought Hastings into collision with his Council and the subordinate government. It also strengthened the Governor-General immensely by bringing him into close political relations with the ministry at home." (Lyall, p. 217).

3. Cornwallis (1786—1793).

A. Introduction—He came to India with a high reputation as a soldier and diplomatist, sure of the support of the strongest ministry that had ever governed England, and invested with well-defined supreme authority, military as well as civil, under a full statutory title. He was Governor-General over all three Presidencies, and he was also appointed Commander-in-Chief (Lyall, p. 218). The settlement of the land revenue of Bengal is

the administrative achievement by which his name is chiefly remembered in India. From this time forward, political insecurity gradually gives way to a sense of stable and enduring dominion.

B. **His Reforms**—"If the foundations of the system of civil administration had been laid by Hastings, the supertructure was raised by Cornwallis". (*a*) The Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1789—91)—(1) Need for Reform—When the Company determined to stand forth as Diwan and take over the revenue administration, it found that there was a body of Zamindars, who had been accustomed to make the actual collections on behalf of the Government. The difference between the amount of the contract and the sum realised from the cultivators, or ryots, was the profit of the Zamindar. In many districts the Office of Zamindar had remained in the same family for several generations, and had become almost hereditary. Thus the Zamindars formed a kind of landed gentry. The Company, in its anxiety to increase the revenue, had tried the plan of putting up the contracts for the collections, either of one year or of a term of years, to auction. The result was that many men of no standing or substance came forward and made bids, which they could not make good subsequently. The Government was no better off and many of the old Zamindari families were reduced to poverty. Some changes were urgently needed, and Sir John Shore after his enquiry into the revenue system of Bengal, supported the Zamindari system. but, first of all, for a period of ten years. (2 The System of Cornwallis—On the recommendation of Cornwallis the Zamindari system was confirmed by Act of Parliament, by which the Zamindars from being mere middle-men between Government and the people, as they had been under the Mughal and Hindu rulers, were raised to the position of ownership of their estate. (3) Criticism—Though this "Permanent Settlement" had some good results immediately, it was attended by two great drawbacks. It left the Government with an inelastic income, and it left the ryots without any adequate protection against the rapacity of their land-lords. (Read Smith, pp. 561—570). (*b*) Judicial Reforms—"Lord Cornwallis finished the work of Warren Hastings." He completely separated

revenue from judicial duties, appointing civil judges in each zillah or district, wiih four higher Provincial courts at Calcutta, Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad. He took criminal justice out of the hands of the Naib Nazims, and the Judges of the four Provincial Courts were to travel on circuit through each district for holding Criminal Sessions. The control of the Police was taken over by the district Judges. Thus "The Company had assumed all the duties of a ruler and abolished all deputies. It was, at last, Collector, Magistrate, and Policemen." (*c*) Other Reforms—He raised the salaries of the officers of the Company, and thus struck at the root of bribery, private trade, and "presents." He also abolished the system of commissions on the sums collected and paid into the Treasury. Cornwallis is "the first (British) Indian ruler who can be properly regarded as an administrator." (Sir John Kaye).

C. **His External Policy**—(*a*) The Third Mysore War—(1790—92)—In spite of his desire to keep the peace and of the restraints laid upon him by the India Bill, Cornwallis was drawn into a war with the Mysore State because of Tippu Sultan's aggressive and ambitious policy. He formed a wide combination against the English by his alliance with the Sultan of Constantinople and Louis XVI of France. Unlike Hyder Ali, Tippu was a zealot and seemed to himself a second prophet. The inhabitants of Coorg, the Christians of Kanara and the Nairs of the Malabar Coast were attacked and given the choice of death or Islam. His fanaticism and arrogance had alarmed and alienated all his neighbours. The Marattas and the Nizam attacked him, but in this attack Cornwallis refused to join. Tippu, who had witnessed the last appearance of the French as his allies on the coast, who still had access to the seaboard and was in touch with the French settlements, had by no means abandoned his father's policy of checking the growth of English predominance by calling in the help of other European nations. These alliances of his confirmed the English in their attitude of vigilant suspicion. In such an environment of reciprocal distrust, Cornwallis perceived the futility of attempting to arrest by Acts of Parliament the

natural current of affairs in India, and when Tippu attacked th Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British, Cornwallis formed a Triple Alliance against him consisting of the Poona Marattas, the Nizam and the Company. At the end of the war Tippu agreed to pay three crores of rupees as a war idemnity, to surrender half of his kingdom, and to give up two of his sons as hostages until the payment was complete. Of the ceded districts the Marattas took those on the north, advancing their boundary to the Tungabadra; the Nizam received those to the north-east adjoining his dominions; while the English reserved for themselves the districts on the frontiers of the Carnatic and the Malabar Coast. They also required the Sultan to recognise the independence of Coorg. Mangalore was the only port left to Tippu, through which he had direct communication with the sea. (*b*) Treaty with the Nizam and the Marattas—The chief object of Cornwallis after the Mysore war, was to provide for the peace of South India by inducing the Marattas and the Nizam to join him in a treaty guaranteeing against Tippu the territories that each of them possessed at the close of the war. But the Marattas declined it because they meditated plundering the Nizam. (Lyall, p. 228). (*c*) The Protectorate of Oudh—The chief concern of the British Government was to prevent the premature dissolution of the two weak Muhammadan States of Oudh and Hyderabad. (Read Lyall's criticism, pp. 228—9). (*d*) The attack on the French—The close connexion of Indian with European politics brought about another war with the French in India. In 1793 began the long Revolutionary and Napoleanic Wars which affected the temper of English politics in Asia. The project of an expedition against British India was constantly in Napolean's mind. His alliance with Tippu and the occupation of Egypt in 1798 were made with the declared object of "hunting the English out of all their Eastern possessions and cutting the Isthmus of Suez."

CHAPTER IV. LORD WELLESLEY (1798—1805)

[Lyall, Ch. XIV; Hutton, *Marquess Wellesley;* Innes, Ch. XII—XIII; Vincent Smith, Bk. VII, Ch. 6; Roberts, Ch. XX.]

1. Sir John Shore (1793-1798).

A. The Act of 1793—Had the period of the Company's privileges chanced to lapse ten years earlier, it is likely that popular feeling would have gone hard against any extension of the monopoly. But the reforms of Cornwallis enabled a highly favourable balancc-sheet to be set forth. The great seaports and manufacturing towns, such as Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Manchester, and Norwich, petitioned against the exclusion of the country in general from a share in the Indian trade, and the whole question of Free Trade or Restriction was raised; but the ministers supported the Directors, and the Company's privileges were extended for another twenty-four years, with the small concession that 3,000 tons of shipping should be provided annually for the use of private shippers. "One of the main arguments of Dundas was that, if the trade to India were thrown open, the colonization of the country would follow, and India would be lost to Great Britain." (Roberts, p, 236).

B. The Marattas—Madhoji Sindia—By the Treaty of Salbai the English had recognised Sindia as a sovereign and independent Prince. Since then he consolidated his power in Northern India, extended his territories and possessed a well-trained army, trained by Frenchmen Nana Furnavis at Poona became jealous and alarmed at his power. He invited Shah Alam to Delhi who resided under his protection at Mathura. The party which resented the Maratta interference stirred up the Rajputs and placed Sindia in a dangerous position, who then fled to Gwalior. With the help of Nana Furnavis and Holkar he marched upon Delhi and put to death the Rohilla Chief who had taken possession of the palace. Thus he recovered, his supremacy in the north. He now desired to control the Poona government, and obtained for the Peshwa the title of "Padshah's Deputy," and for himself "Peshwa's Deputy." He then marched

to Poona to invest the youthful Madhava Rao, but Nana Furnavis was powerful to resist him. The rivalry of Nana Furnavis and Sindia ended by his death in 1794, and he was succeeded by his nephew Daulat Rao Sindia.

C. **The Maratta War with Nizam Ali**—The Maratta aggressive policy under Nana Furnavis. Nizam Ali had not paid chouth for several years. Nizam Ali asked the English to help him but was refused due to non-intervention policy of Cornwallis continued by Sir John Shore. The Marattas for the last time in their history joined together against the Nizam, who being beseiged, capitulated at Kharda in 1795. By the Treaty Nizam Ali had to cede again the territories in the west lost by his brother in 1760, and to pay three crores as arrears of chouth and war indemnity. He also surrendered other districts to the Nagpur Raja and promised to pay him 29 lakhs as arrears of tribute.

D. **Baji Rao II (1796)—The Last Peshwa**—Nana Furnavis won over the young Daulat Rao Sindia and with his aid Baji Rao, son of Ragunatha Rao, was invested as Peshwa at Poona in 1796. He was eager to be rid of both his masters, and as a first step towards liberty, he employed one to destroy the other.

E. **Decay of the Maratta Confederacy**—(*a*) Causes—The Peshwas, who had reduced the Rajas of Satara to mere puppets, were now themselves powerless in the hands of their ministers or vassal princes. Secondly, there was mutual distrust and selfishness in the members of the Confederacy. Thirdly, the best armies of the Marattas were composed of mercenary soldiers—Arabs, Pathans and Rajputs, disciplined and led by foreign officers. (*b*) Result—In the second half of the 17th century, Sivaji lent some nobility to the Maratta cause by making it a struggle for a race and a religion; but at the end of the 18th the Confederacy became a selfish organisation, as harmful and oppressive to the Hindus as to the Mussalmans.

F. **Sir John Shore and Oudh**—Asafudhaula, the debauched ruler of Oudh, died in 1797, after nominating as his successor a youth named Vizier Ali, whom Shore recognised as

his son and rightful successor. Knowing his unfitness to rule, after four months Shore reversed his previous decision, and installed Sadat Ali Khan, a brother of the late Nawab, who signed a new treaty, which among other provisions, ceded the important strategic position of Allahabad at the confluence of the Jumna with the Ganges. Some disturbance occurred which at one time threatened the life of Shore, who behaved with courage and discretion. "Once and once only did Sir John Shore display any spirit" (Smith).

G. Criticism of the Non-Intervention Policy—The key note of the foreign policy of the Company since the battle of Plassey in 1757 to the close of Sir John Shore's period, was one of non-interference beyond the ring fence of the Company's dominions. They avoided intercourse with the Chiefs in the hope that the stronger States would absorb the weaker and become settled States and preferred to be only "the first among equals." The rule of Sir John Shore illustrates best the evils of the non-intervention policy which he determined to carry out to the very letter. The truth is that non-intervention policy collapsed most miserably, because events were too strong for it. An ambitious and restless ruler was usually not content with absorbing weak neighbours, but was sure to collide with the Company and when collided it was to end in war on a bigger scale. (Read, Lyall, p. 229).

2. Wellesley's Principles of External Policy.

A. Advantages of Wellesley—Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, had held office as a Lord of the Treasury and Commissioner of the Board of Control. He was in the prime of life, thirty-seven years of age, a great classical scholar, a master of stately if rather grandiloquent English, of brilliant and ardent temperament, and endowed with greater genius though less solidity of character than his more famous younger brother. He was one of the greatest of British rulers in India. Only Clive, Warren Hastings, and Dalhousie can challenge comparison with him, and in actual achievement he outdistanced them all. He came to India at an auspicious time for one who wished to play

a great part, when the policy of non-interference and neutrality was on the point of breaking down, and he seized the tide of his opportunity at the flood. He had great chances and made the most of them—brilliant military commanders, governors of the subordinate presidencies who did not dream of opposition, and, for the first few years at any rate, the active sympathy of Dundas and Pitt. But above all, his own imperious will, wide and bold political grasp of facts, and gorgeous imagination swept onward to a more ambitious view of British dominion than had hitherto been entertained.

B. Aim—Deliberate Expansion—His object was to make the British paramount power in India with a view to the good of the country entrusted to his care. Hence his policy was one of deliberate expansion. Two factors determined his policy. The Indian Factor—Non-intervention policy of Cornwallis and Sir John led to the growth of the Marattas and Mysore so as to prove great danger to the British. In the Mughal period one sovereign power had kept order in the country. Now that there was no power who could keep order, he was determined to make the English sovereign. Hence he made the Company pass from the position of one among the equals to that of *one above all.* The Foreign Factor—There was danger to British India from the French. To frustrate the possibility of a French invasion of India by Napoleon in person, was the governing idea of Wellesley's foreign policy, and all his views on Indian policy had their root in the problem which Napolean was presenting to the statesman of Europe. The French danger might be in three ways—by an invasion by way of Egypt or Russia, by continually damaging British commerce with Mauritius as a base, and by secretly detaching officers and men to help and strengthen Indian powers against the English. This danger was clearly manifested by the following circumstances. Nizam was controlled by the French officers who commanded his army. Soldiers of Sindhia who was then the head of the Maratta Confederacy, were led by French adventurers. Tippu had regular correspondence with the Governor of Mauritius, and Napolean was in Egypt dreaming of conquests in the East. Hence Wellesley was determined to crush his foreign enemy by placing himself at the head of a great Indian Confederacy.

C. Means—The Subsidiary Alliances—(*a*) Explanation—Their common aim and result was to bring the various states of India within a protectorate, or "general defensive alliance," in which the British were recognised as the suzerain power. The Princes were allowed to continue to exercise to the full the functions of internal sovereignty and civil administration. But they had to renounce the right to enter in negotiations with other States or to take Europeans, other than the British, into their employ, without the consent of the Company. They had to receive a Resident, and the system also implied the maintenance and payment of a contingent of British troops within their dominions. (*b*) Evolution—Four steps may be noticed in the evolution of this system—(1) English contingents sent to help Indian potentates; (2) The English themselves took the initiation with the help of Indian contingents, badly required by the English; (3) Native ally was required to supply not men, but money; and (4) The English lastly wanted neither men nor money, but land. (Read, Lyall, pp. 244—46).

3. Applications of the Principles.

A. The Nizam—Mornington's first measure was to come to satisfactory undertaking with the Nizam. He consented to disband his French contingent and to receive in its place an increased auxiliary force under the British. *Importance*—"This bold stroke instantly reduced the Nizam to complete dependence on the Company, and removed him from the list of powers whose enmity should be feared, or whose amity should be sought." (Smith, p. 582). A triple alliance was suggested by Wellesley between the English, the Nizam. and the Marattas. But as the Marattas were opposed to it, the plan failed,

B. Mysore—The Fourth Mysore War (1799)—(*a*) *Causes*—Tippu, after his defeat by Cornwallis in 1792, had given many proofs of his inveterate hostility. In his search for allies against the English, Tippu had sent his emissaries to Arabia, Kabul, Constantinople, and Mauritius. The Governor of the Isles of France became the close ally of the Sultan on behalf of the French nation which was then carrying on the last great war

with the English. A few French troops actually landed at Mangalore almost at the same time as Lord Marnington stepped at Madras. The Governor-General promptly determined on war. (*b*) *Course*—On March 6, a Bombay force defeated a much larger body of the enemy on the Coorg frontier. The main Carntic army defeated Tippu at Malavelli on March 27, and stormed Seringapatam on May 4. Tippu was shot by a soldlier while fighting gallantly in a gate-way. (*c*) *Result*—Wellesley finally decided that the Company and the Nizam should take the districts which best suited each party and to make over the residue to a Hindu Prince dispossessed by Hyder Ali. As the Prince was only five years of age, the whole of Mysore, except the districts assigned to the Nizam, practically became British territory. The Nizam gave over to the Company his share for tbe payment of the subsidiary force. Thus the Company annexed Kanara thereby obtaining the whole of the south-western coast, Malabar being already annexed, and Coimbatore. The State of Mysore was thus reduced to the compact triangular inland block which it is still, surrounded by the British territory. By the subsequent Treaty of Seringapatam Mysore entered into the subsidiary alliance. (Read Smith, p. 586). The conquest was loudly acclaimed in England. Wellesley was made Marquis Wellesley—an honour which he considered quite inadequate and describes bitterly as a "double-gilt potato." Sir Arthur Wellesley thus sums up the work of the first years of the Governor-General. "Our principal ally the Nizam was restored to us, the French state growing in the peninsula of India was destroyed, our formidable native enemy Tippu, the certain ally of the French in India, was subdued."

C. Subsidiary Alliances in the South—(*a*) The Nawab of the Carnatic—Muhamad Ali died in 1759 and the new Nawab signed an alliance with Wellesley. As he was found to have treasonable correspondence with the French, the Carnatic was taken by the English—the fifth step in the formation of the Madras Presidency (1801). (*b*) Tanjore—For similar reasons, when quarrel broke out between two rivals for the

throne of Tanjore, this petty kingship was also abolished. Both claimants were pensioned off, and the Company assumed the administration. Henceforward it stands forth in its own name as the sovereign of the south (1802).

D. Subsidiary Alliances in the North—(*a*) The Nawab of Oudh (1801)—On his return to Bengal, Wellesley determined to effect a like reform in Oudh. He was fearful of an invasion by the Afgans under Zaman Shah. The troops kept by the Nawab, being an undisciplined and ill-paid horde, could not protect Oudh from this peril. The internal administration was the worst conceivable. After prolonged negotiations he presented his final demands—that the Nawab should cede a half of his territories, from the revenues of which the expenses of the military contingent were to be met; he was to disband his soldiery, and reform the internal administration of the territory left to him. *Importance*—The advantages of this arrangement to the Company were that henceforward it was to be the warden of the frontier; and that the districts of the Doab and Rohilkhand being completely under its control, it was not dependent upon the Nawab for the subsidy. The advantage to the Nawab was that he was relieved of the heavy military charge upon his revenues and was left free to better his government in the territory left to him, had he been so minded. By this Wellesley changed the barrier policy of Hastings which had effectually served the Company for thirty years. (*b*) Shah Alam—He was the only sovereign power in name. Wellesley wanted to preseve and utilize the nominal superiority. In 1803 Sindhia was forced to give up the custody of Shah Alam, and in 1805 Shah Alam was established at Delhi under British protection with a considerable payment and pension for his dignity.

E. Subsidiary Alliances in the West—(*a*) The Marattas—Treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa (1802). (*b*) II Maratta War (1803) and treaties with Bhonsle and Sindhia, and treaty with Gaekwar. (*c*) III Maratta War (1804—5) against Holkar. (*d*) Importance of these treaties—"The general arrangements of the pacification have finally placed the British power in India, in that commanding position with regard to other States,

which affords the only possible security for the permanent tranquility and prosperity of these invaluable and important possessions." (Wellesley). (Map, Lyall, p. 278). (*b*) The Rajputs—The British took the Rajputs also under them by subidiary alliance and undertook to defend them against their enemies.

4. Reflections on Wellesley's Administration.

A. **His Resignation**—The Di-ectors of the Company were alarmed at the expensive wars of Wellesley and the consequent financial strain on the Company, and his liberal economic policy of free trade was a blow to the monopolies. Therefore he was re-called in 1805.

B. **Causes of his Success**—A peculiar combination of circumstances gave scope and encouragement to Wellesley's ardent and masterful statesmanship—the danger from the French and the changed attitude of the Parliament since the days of Warren Hastings. (Lyall).

C. **Estimate of his Work**—"The Marquess Wellesley undoubtedly is entitled to a place in the front rank of the Governors-General by the side of Warren Hastings, the Marquess of Hastings and Lord Dalhousie." (Read Smith, 604—5). He established beyond the possibility of future opposition the political and military superiority of the English throughout India. It is indeed from this period, and from the great augmentations of territory obtained by "Lord Wellesley's high-handed and clear-headed policy," that we may date the substantial formation of the three Indian Presidencies. (Lyall, p. 260). Lord Wellesley revived and proclaimed the imperial principle of political supremacy. All his views and measures pointed towards the reconstruction of another empire in India, which he rightly believed to be the natural outcome of the British position in the country, and which will be the heiress of the Mughal Empire, out of the ruins of which the British Empire rose. He introduced some administrative reforms and prepared the way for the Civil Service by founding a college for the study of the Regulations of the Indian Government and of the British Constitution. In short, "Previous to this, there existed *a* British Empire in India: it gave the Company *the* Empire of India."

APPENDIX. THE MARATTA HISTORY (1761—1818)

1. The Outline History (1761—1818).

A. Fourth Peshwa—Madhu Rao I (1761—1772)— When Balaji Baji Rao died in 1761, he was succeeded by his son, Madhu Rao. He watched with concern the rising power of Hyder Ali in Mysore, and entered that country in 1764 with a large army. Hyder Ali, with all his ability and skill, was no match for the Marattas, and was compelled after two wars to agree to a humiliating peace and to restore all Maratta possessions.

B. The Maratta Powers—*(a)* In Northern India, Mahdaji Sindhia restored the power of the Marattas after the disastrous battle of Panipat. He placed the titular emperor on the throne of Delhi, and remained virtually master of the surrounding districts. *(b)* In Central India, the house of Holkar consolidated its power. Mulhar Rao Holkar died in 1767, and his son's widow, the celebrated Ahalya Bai, carried on the administration with an ability, intelligence, and benevolence towards her subjects, which have made her name a household word among all Hindus. She brought peace and prosperity to the state, and transformed Indore into a large and flourishing city. *(c)* In the Deccan, the administration of the country directly subject to the Peshwa was carried on by the able and venerable Rama Sastri. "His integrity was incorruptible, his habits simple and virtuous, the methods of his rule were able, and the decisions of his Panchayets were considered precedents in India. The excellent civil administration which he organised and superintended attest to the administrative capacity of his nation and race." (Dutt, pp 146—7).

C. Fifth and Sixth Peshwas (1772—1795)—The power of the Peshwas declined after the death of Madhu Rao I. Narayana Rao was assassinated after a short reign. Raghunath Rao, a brother of the third Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, now assumed the title of Peshwa, while a strong party in the state supported the claim of the posthumous child of Narayana Rao, who was set up as Peshwa Madhu Rao II. Raghunath Rao sought the

help from the English, and signed the treaty of Surat in 1775, agreeing to cede Salsette and Bassein to that power. The result was what is known in Indian history as the First Maratta War with the English (1778-1782). The war was fruitless; Raghunath Rao failed to be a Peshwa and retired as a pensioner; but Salsette and Elephanta and two other islands were retained by the English by the treaty of Salbai concluded in 1782.

D. The Maratta Powers—*(a)* In Northern India, the influence of Mahdaji Sindhia was undisputed. He had a fine body of infantry disciplined by a French officer, De Boigne; and the titular emperor, Shah Alam, entrusted the provinces of Delhi and Agra to his management in 1784. Golam Kadir, a notorious and cruel adventurer, seized Delhi for a time, put out the eyes of the titular emperor, and disgraced his family. But he was pursued and killed, Sindhia regained his power, placed Shah Alam on the throne once more, and remained virtually master of Northern India till his death in 1794. He was succeeded by his adopted son, Daulat Rao Sindhia. *(b)* At Indore, the able and virtuous Ahalya Bai closed her brilliant administration, and died in 1795. *(c)* At Nagpur, Raghuji Bhonsla succeeded his father in 1788, and ruled over the extensive tract of country extending to Orissa on the eastern coast. *(d)* At Baroda, Govind Rao succeeded as Gaekwar in 1793 after the death of his younger brother, who had usurped the rank.

E. The Seventh and Last Peshwa—Baji Rao II (1795—1818)—The young Peshwa, Madhu Rao II, resented the restraint under which he was kept by his minister, the celebrated Nana Furnavis, and committed suicide. He was succeeded by Baji Rao II, son of Raghunath Rao, who had vainly tried to become a Peshwa, as seen before. There were frequent dissensions among the Marattas, and Baji Rao, like his father, sought the help of the English. In 1802 he concluded the the treaty of Bassein, by which he agreed to keep a British "subsidiary" force within his country, and ceded some territory for the maintenance of the force. The other Maratta powers were taken aback by the introduction of British influence, and the consequence was the Second Maratta War (1803). "It was

this second Maratta War which made the English the supreme power in India." (Dutt). They took Delhi and Agra in Northern India, broke the power of the Marattas in the Deccan, wrested and retained Orissa for themselves, and conquered and ceded Berar to the Nizam of the Deccan. Baji Rao still dreamed of freeing himself from British control, and his rash attempts led to what is known as the Fourth Maratta War in 1817—18. The war was soon over, the title of Peshwa was extinguished, his possessions were taken over by the British and formed the Bombay Presidency, and Baji Rao retired as a pensioner.

F. **The Maratta Powers**—The four subordinate Maratta houses-Sindhia, and Holkar, the Gaekwar and Bhonsla—still continued, however, to rule in their respective states, and three of the houses continue to rule their states to the present day.

2. The Four Maratta Wars.

A. **The First Maratta War (1778—1782)**—The war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Salbai. The Company was anxious to end a struggle which made so terrible a drain upon its purse, and Sindia was weary of a war which was being waged with no advantage to himself and largely at the expense of his territories. He entered into negotiations independently and offered to act as mediator between the English and the Peshwa. Finally at the end of 1782 the treaty was concluded, of which the principal terms were—(1) that the Marattas should receive back the territories they had lost, except Salsette which was to be retained by the English; (2) that no Europeans other than the English should be received at the Poona Court, and none, besides the Portuguese and the English, permitted to trade in the Maratta country; (3) 'that Fateh Sing should be recognised as Gaekwar of Baroda and no arrears of tribute demanded from him; (5) that the district of Broach, which the English had taken, was given to Sindia as an acknowledgment of his services in negotiating the treaty and of his kindness to the English army after the convention of Wargaom. "The chief gains to the Company were the secure possession of Salsette, and the establishment of a friendly power in Gujarat—the principality of the

Gaekwar of Baroda." (Thompson). "This celebrated treaty marks an era in Maratta history." The effect of the treaty was greatly to favour Sindia's desire to form an independent Maratta dominion.

B. The Second Maratta War (1803)—*(a)* The Treaty of Bassein (Dec. 31st, 1802)—The Peshwa, Madhu Rao II, committed suicide in 1795, and was succeeded by Baji Rao, the second son of Raghoba. He was attacked by Jaswant Rao Holkar. The Peshwa was compelled to seek the aid af the English, who forced him to sign the Treaty of Bassein, 1802, in accordance with the Subsidiary System introduced by Lord Wellesley. By this treaty he was bound to maintain a subsidiary force under English discipline at a cost of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year, to admit no enemy of the English into his territories, to abandon all claims to Surat, and to allow the English to mediate between him, the Nizam and the Gaekwar of Baroda. This was an epoch-making treaty which brought the head of the Maratta Confederacy within the subsidiary system. This celebrated treaty disunited for ever the Marattas, and gave the English complete authority over them. "Thus did Baji Rao II sacrifice his independence, and that of the race and people; but the blame must rest on the shoulders of the ambitions chieftains, whose dissensions for ever ruined the Maratta interest." (Pope). *(b)* Treaty with Gaekwar (Jan. 1803)—At Baroda disputes about the succession compelled the English to interfere. Baroda was taken, a subsidiary force received, and the state came under the subsidiary system. *(c)* The Peace of Deogam with Bhonsle (Dec. 1803)—Raghuji Bhonsle, utterly discomfited, signed a treaty, by which he ceded Orissa to the Company, and all his territory west of the N. Warda (the great cotton field) and south of the range of hills on which Gawilgarh stands, he renounced all claims for tribute on the Nizam, and he agreed to entertain no Europeans or Americans without the consent of the English, and to receive a British Resident at his Court. *(d)* The Treaty of Siraji Anjanagaum with Holkar (Dec. 1803)—By this treaty Daulat Rao Sindia yielded to the British all the region between the Ganges and Jumna, also Ahmadnagar and Broach, and he

renounced all claims upon the Emperor and all allies of the British. He also gave the same assurances as Bhonsle about the employment of foreigners. He was permitted to retain some of his jagirs in the Doab and elsewhere in the north. He was afterwards brought more completely within the "general defensive alliance" by a supplementary article, in which he agreed to receive a British contingent on the frontiers of or within his territories. Out of the districts thus ceded the Nizam was rewarded by an extension of his dominions on the north, and Ahmadnagar was restored to the Peshwa. Importance of these Treaties--Wellesley summed up the results of his treaties with the Maratta Princes thus—"The general arrangements of the pacification have finally placed the British power in India, in that commanding position with regard to other states, which affords the only possible security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of these valuable and important possessions."

C. The Third Maratta War (1804—1805)—With Jaswant Rao Holker—In 1805 he sued for peace, and fortunately for him, Sir George Barlow's reactionary policy permitted him to obtain it on ludicrously easy terms. (Nov. 1805). Though he was called upon to renounce his claims north of the Chambal, he was promised the restoration of his forts in the Deccan after eighteen months. Barlow also surrendered Tonk and Rampur to Holkar and published declaratory articles withdrawing British protection from the rest of the trans-Chambal states, with the result that in a short time several of them felt the devastating hand of the Maratta leaders, and amongst others was the Raja of Jaipur, a British ally.

D. The Fourth Maratta War (1817—1818)—Lord Hastings made marvellous changes in the political map of India. The Peshwa, who alone might claim to exercise a kind of suzerainty, had disappeared completely. The Rajah of Satara was restored to some dignity and power, being assigned a small and convenient principality out of the territories of the late Peshwa. Changes were made in the extent and shape of the kingdoms of all the Princes in Central India. "The Governor-General followed two principles in making this re-distribution.

In the first place, the three Presidencies of British India were linked up with one another, intervening barriers of foreign territory being removed. In the second place, a plan of division was adopted, exactly the opposite of the Maratta. The aim of Hastings was a permanent peace, and he tried to do away with that mixing up of territories, which was the device of Balaji Viswanath. Wherever possible, each prince was provided with a well-defined dominion, with which he enjoyed an undivided and indisputable sovereignty." (Thompson). Importance—"Thus ended the rule of the Peshwas in 1818, exactly a hundred years from the date on which the first Peshwa had obtained great and important concessions from Delhi in 1718. The houses of Sindia and Holkar, Gaekwar and Bhonsla, were still permitted to rule in their respective dominions." (Dutt). From the point of view of the English, "the subsidiary system, with its military contingents and political residents, was now everywhere established, save in the north-west." (Thompson).

E. Causes of the decline and fall of the Marattas—(1) The excessive aggrandisement of Madhoji Sindia, making himself independent of the Peshwa; and, in fact, a rival to him. His example was not lost on the other Maratta Chieftains. (2) The dissensions consequent on the death of Narayan Rao, with the quarrels and rivalries of Raghoba, Nana Furnavis, Baji Rao II, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Daulat Rao Sindia, completely disintegrated the confederacy. (3) Moreover, the confederacy had within itself elements of disunion, and consequent weakness. The Peshwa and his councillors were Brahmins; Sindia and Holkar were Sudras; Raghuji Bhonsla was a Kshatriya. (4) Shah Alam II was now in the power of the British. Under the shadow of the new paramount power, the corruption and disorder which favoured the rise of the Marattas could not exist.

BOOK V

THE COMPLETION OF THE BRITISH DOMINION (1805—1858).

(*The Company as the Paramanent Power*)

CHAPTER I. LORD HASTINGS

[Keene, *History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. XI, Vol. II. Ch. XIII—XIV; Lyall, Ch. XV—XVI; Innes, Ch. XIV—XV; Smith, Book VII, Ch. 7—8, Book VIII, Ch. 1; Thompson. Ch. XVI; Roberts, *Historical Geography of India*, Ch. XXI—XXII.]

1. Interval between Wellesley and Hastings–Reaction.

A. Introduction—Though the flood of conquest and annexation was checked, and even receded during the period of reaction, ultimately it went forward in two great surges under the Marquis of Hastings and the Earl of Dalhousie. The former completed the subjugation of the Maratta States, and the latter brought the Sikh kingdom of Lahore within the British Empire. "Thus, for the first time in history, the whole of India, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas and from the Panjab to Assam, was brought under one firm sovereign sway." (Thompson).

B. Lord Cornwallis—There were two chief causes for this reactionary policy. The Court of Directors protested against the increase of the Company's debts and dominions. Therefore during the second Governor-Generalship of Cornwallis, he laid down the pacific principles that were acted upon by his successors. Morever, the treasury was empty, the debt was increasing, the export trade was arrested by the demand of specie for the military chest, and the British ascendency had been openly proclaimed. Hence "It seems to have been his view that our protectorate should not extend beyond the actual limits of our possessions—a rule of political fortification that has never been

practised in India." (Lyall, p. 266). But he had time to announce his intention of cutting down expenses and withdrawing from some of the engagements entered into by Wellesley, and then he died in October three months after his coming to India.

C. **Sir George Barlow (1805-1807)**—*(a)* His External Policy—He laid down the principle that a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a concentrated circle. Accordingly, Sindhia was allowed to retain Gwalior and to establish the Chambal as his boundary Holkar was given back all possessions south of the Chambal. The Rajputs were denied protection, and the Raja of Jaipur was informed that Wellesley's agreement was cancelled. If he had adopted to their full extent the instructions from home, he would have undone the work of Wellesley and the result would have been to abdicate the ascendency that was already attained and to throw open again the field of Central India to the Marattas, who would at once have occupied all the ground the British should have abandoned. Exceptions to this policy—When he discovered that the incompetent Nizam had been led to subvert the alliance with the British Government, he interfered and insisted on his restoring to office a minister friendly to the British. Again, he was equally firm in resisting suggestions from England to modify the Treaty of Bassein and held that the connections with the Peshwa must be either maintained as they stood or abandoned altogether (Smith, p. 609). *(b)* His Internal Policy—He left a full treasury to the credit of his unhonoured name. According to Wilson, "the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England was, in fact, the mainspring of Sir George Barlow's policy". He suppressed Vellur and Madras Mutinies. (Innes, p. 159). He was "an unfortunate example of an admirable public servant who was quite unfit to rule." He was followed by Lord Minto.

2. Lord Minto (1809—1813).

A. **His Foreign Policy**—He came out pledged to the doctrine of non-intervention, but he had not been long in the country before he learnt that there were more and stronger reasons

to justify a forward policy than he had formerly allowed. He set a campaign on foot against the turbulent Chieftains of Bundlekhand and order was restored and a beginning was made with a revenue settlement (1808—1814). He sent an army to help the Raja of Nagpur against the Rohilla Chief, Amir Khan, and drove out the invader. He saw clearly enough that, if the Rohilla Chief were not checked at once, his next incursion would be into the territories of the Company or of its ally, the Nizam. He entered into a treaty with Ranjit Singh, under whose sovereignty the Sikh Confederacy had grown into a compact and powerful kingdom giving anxiety to the Company, and a perpetual amity was established between himself and the British Government. (1809).

B. His Frontier Policy—The alliance between France and Russia was a menace to the British power in India. (Read Lyall, pp. 268—71). This danger determined his frontier relations. He sent embassies to Ranjit Singh, Afghan Amir and Persia. The mission to Ranjit Singh withdrew as he claimed sovereignty over Company's Sutlej territory, that to Afghan Amir did not effect anything due to civil war, and by the treaty of Teheran the English engaged to subsidize Persia in case of unprovoked aggression upon her. The schemes were dropped as Russia became England's ally against Napolean. Result of these missions was the ratification of substantial frontier settlement with Ranjit Singh who renounced his claim to the Sutlej territory and concentrated his attention to consolidate the Sikh power by annexing Kashmir. The importance of these relations consisted in the fact that "Now for the first time we entered upon the range of diplomatic observation in which all the countries of western Asia, from Kabul to Constantinople, are surveyed as interposing barriers between Europe and our Indian possessions." (Lyall, pp. 274).

C. His Naval Wars and Acquisitions—Cape of Good Hope was occupied in 1806. The French were driven from Java in 1810. Mauritius was also captured. Thus all the sea communication with India came under British control. (Interconnection between European and Asiatic politics is illustrated by B and C).

D. His Internal Organisation—Parliamentary Interference—The Charter was renewed in 1813, by which the Company's monopoly in India was abolished, while continuing that of the Company's trade wtth China. Since 1808 the question of the renewal of the Charter (which was to expire on April 10, 1814) had been to the fore, and a Parliamentary Committee was engaged in inquiring into every branch of their administration. Two questions were involved—the commercial monopoly, and the political or territorial rights of the Company. It was fairly plain that neither Parliament nor public opinion would tolerate a further grant of the full monopoly of the Indian trade. On the other hand, there was practically no desire to oust the Company from its political position, and that for two reasons. "The people felt that the immense patronage of the Indian services would be less corruptly administered by the Court of Directors, standing apart as it did from the Party system, than by ministers obsessed with the idea of purchasing the votes and allegiance of their followers; while politicians themselves were disposed to be well content with a constitution which gave them a very real control over Indian affairs, and yet enabled them, if anything went wrong, to shift a good deal of the responsibility upon the shoulders of the Company." (Roberts. Read pp. 277—8 for the discussion over the Act). After a fierce struggle the Act confirmed the Company in the Government of India for twenty years from April 1814, and threw open the trade to India, but left them the monopoly of the profitable commerce with China. A small sum annually (£ 10,000) was allotted for the encouragement of education, literature and science. "For many years this fund was badly administered, but the clause marked the first open recognition by the government of the duty of ameliorating the moral and intellectual condition of the people of India." (Roberts).

3. Marquis of Hastings (1813-1823).

A. Condition of India in 1813--"The year in which the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, began his long and notable period of office marked a new stage in the

history of the East India Company." (Roberts). *(a)* British India—Though Wellesley's policy had been reversed, six of the chief states were still bound to the British by the subsidiary system—Oudh, Baroda, Poona, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore. *(b)* Native India—The settled and organised states were the Punjab and Nepaul. The unsettled and turbulent powers were—the Maratta Chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, attacking the Rajputs, and scattered among the Maratta territories were a crowd of tribal chiefs and petty feudatories in various degrees of dependence; the Rohillas under Amir Rhan; the Rajput States which were too weak and disunited to oppose the aggressive Marattas and asked for British protection; (Read the letter of Sir Charles Metcafle, Lyall, p. 281) and the groups of freebooters like the Pindaris. (Lyall, p. 283).

B. Principles of his External Policy—His was a more vigorous, forward policy—the policy of *subordinate isolation*. This policy involved (1) a protectorate, *i. e.*, subordination to British ascendency, (2) a subordination of all control in foreign matters, (3) non-interference in internal affairs, (4) isolation, *i. e.*, the only prospect of order amongst Indian States was to underake arbitration in all their disputes with each other, and to deprive all alike of the right to make or to enter into any unauthorized alliance with each other, and (5) an alliance on the basis of military co-operation. *(b) Criticism*—Thus whilst Hastings was indebted to Wellesley for (1), (2) and (3), he was the originator of (4) and (5). Wellesley had in part anticipated the policy which Hastings followed, yet between the treaties of the two governors there is marked difference. What stands to Hastings' policy is a really new departure. These treaties represented two different policies at different periods. This policy found its justification in two circumstances. Non-intervention policy was now impossible. (Lyall, p. 284). Moreover, subsidiary alliance was inadequate, because it led to the disbanding of the loose mercenary militia and there was no sense of responsibility for sound administration on the part of rulers who entered into subsidiary alliance. (Lyall, p. 286).

4. Hastings' External Relations.

A. The Nepaul War (1814—1816)—Hastings was first called upon to deal with Nepaul, the country lying along the Northern frontiers of Bengal and Oudh for about seven hundred miles from the Sutlej to Sikkim, with an average breadth of about a hundred and thirty miles up the snow-clad slopes of the Himalayas. The tribe of the Gurkhas under a powerful raja had about ten years after Plassey, subdued the other ruling clans and given its name to the whole race. This hardy and warlike race soon found their narrow mountain home too confined for them, and being checked by the powerful Chinese empire to the north, they pressed hard on the ill-defined frontiers of Bengal and Oudh. About this time they seized some districts in the southern lowlands claimed by the Company. As they refused to withdraw, hostilities began in November 1814. After nearly two years of fighting, when the English supreme commander Ochterlony advanced towards their capital Katmandu, the Gurkha chieftains announced their acceptance of the Treaty of Sagauli, March 1816. The British gains were not unimportant. The Gurkhas abandoned most of their claims in the Tarai, or lowlands, along their southern border. The provinces of Kumaon and Garhwal at the extreme west of Nepaul were surrendered and the site of Simla was thus acquired; a protective treaty with the Raja of Sikkim drove a barrier between the eastern frontier of Nepaul and Bhutan.

B. Extirpation of the Pindaris (1817)—The Pindaris were mostly of Pathan origin, but desperate and broken men of all races joined their ranks. They followed the Maratta armies, as irregulars and skirmishers without pay, subsisting on the plunder of the enemy's territory. They had made Central India outside the ring fence of British dominion "a hell upon earth for the cultivators of the soil," and had begun to extend their raids into the British territory. In 1812 they broke into Bundelkhand, in 1815 and 1816 they plundered the Nizam's dominions, and in 1817 they ravaged the Northern Circars. This finally broke down the patience of the home authorities and the Calcutta Council, who had not so far permitted Hastings to carry out

the war he had long been urging. With 113,000 men and 300 guns, divided into four Hindustan divisions under himself, and five Deccan divisions under Sir Thomas Hislop, Hastings succeeded in extirpating the Pindaris.

C. Alliance with the Rajputs—To check the growing power of Sindhia in Central India was the next line of Hastings' action. He made it clear to Sindhia that the days of non-intervention were over, and that the British government intended to cast its protection over Malwa and Rajputana. The Rajputs gladly and eagerly welcomed the sheltering arm of British protection, and treaties were concluded by Metcalfe at Delhi with nineteen Rajput states, including Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Bundi.

D. The Fourth Maratta War (1817—1818)—(See Appendix on Maratta History). The results of all these complicated and intricate campaigns were the following. The Pindaris ceased to exist. Sindhia was humbled and rendered impotent for harm. Holkar was left with but half of his original possessions. Nagpur was reduced to the position of a vassal with reduced territories. The Peshwa was dethroned and his hereditary office abolished. His dominions with the exception of the districts granted to the Raja of Satara, became part of the Bombay Presidency. Some of Great Britain's bitterest enemies were settled as pensioners or prisoners within easy reach of Calcutta. Her protection now shadowed the ancient houses of the Rajput states, and her dominion extended from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Sutlej, across which stood the military commonweal of the Sikhs in friendship and alliance with the British. Such peace and order as had not been known since the greatest days of the Mughal empire extended through Central India.

5. Hastings' Internal Policy.

A. His Colleagues—In spite of the warlike nature of Hastings' administration, some most important civil and administrative reforms were carried through. No Governor-General ever had four more brilliant subordinates than Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Sir Charles Metcalfe,

and all these men left the impress of their characters upon Indian History. Elphinstone's pacification of the provinces conquered from the Peshwa, and Munro's ryotwari settlement of the land revenues of Madras, a settlement made directly with the cultivators and dispensing with the middlemen, are two of the abiding memorials of British administration. Elphinstone at Poona was ably seconded by Grant Duff, the Resident at Satara; and so by a curious coincidance two of the greatest historians of India were engaged at the same time in administrative duties in the same province

B. Legal and Administrative Reforms—In Bengal some legal reforms were found necessary owing to the congested state of the law courts. In civil actions the procedure was curtailed and simplified, while an important change was made in the administration of criminal justice. The rule laid down by Cornwallis that the offices of collector and magistrate were never to be united, though in theory unimpeachable, had some practical disadvantages. This prohibition was abolished. Measures were also taken to protect the rights of the ryots as against the Zamindars where experience showed that the working of the Permanent Settlement passed too hardly on the cultivators of the soil.

C. Progess of Education and the Press—A beginning was made, on humble lines, with the education of the Indians by the establishment of vernacular schools near Calcutta. The first vernacular newspaper was published by the missionaries of Serampore.

D. Estimate of Hastings' Administraiion—Lord Hastings had carried through a necessary and great work. His material achievements challenge comparison with those of Lord Wellesley, but he was not so great or commanding a figure. He owed much of the success of his administration to a brilliant band of subordinates, men who had been trained and inspired by his great predecessor. Nevertheless, he conceived and carried through the greatest strategical operation ever undertaken in India. He was less precipitate than Lord Wellesley, less harsh to errant Indian rulers, and he did not proceed against them till his case was very strong. He was an able administrator, a hard and conscientious worker, a good judge of men, and his name and fame deservedly rank only just below the greatest in the roll of Governors-General. (Roberts).

CHAPTER II. LORD DALHOUSIE

[Lyall, Ch. XVII, Keene, Vol. II, Ch. XV—XIX; Smith, Bk. VIII. Ch 1—4; Innes, Ch. XX—XXV; Roberts, Ch. XXIII—XXVIII.]

1. Interval between Hastings and Dalhousie.

A. Lord Amherst (1823—1828)—*(a)* A New Departure—Up to this epoch the scene of all the Company's wars had been within India, and now a non-Indian State challenged the Company from beyond the Indian frontier—Burma. In the course of the period (1757—1805) new rulerships were being founded simultaneously by a not dissimilar process around the British—Afghanistan, the Punjab, Nepaul, and Burma. *(b)* The First Burmese War (1824—1826)—(For the history of the kingdom of Burma, see Lyall, p. 298). The cause of the war was the intervention of Burma in Assam; the Burmese encroaching on the protectorate zone, and this was a danger to the British power in Bengal. On the land the English generally failed, but on sea they were successful. By the treaty of Yandabu, the king of Burma ceded the districts of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim, promised to pay a war indemnity of one crore, and to receive a British ambassador at his court. The annexation of these provinces placed in English hands almost all that part of the coast which fronts India across the Bay of Bengal. (Lyall, p. 301). *(c)* In 1827 Bhartpur was captured. This achievement removed all remaining inclination to challenge the supremacy of the British arms. (Innes, p. 184).

B. Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835)—*(a)* General Character of the Period—With the retirement of Lord Amherst there ensued a ten years' respite from major military operations. The new Governor-General could hardly have found a more favourable opportunity to carry out the liberal and humanizing policy to which he was devoted. His was a period of brief and rare tranquility, an era of liberal and civilizing administration, of quiet material progress, and of some important moral and educational reforms. He was a true Liberal of his day, thoroughly in accord with the ideas that inspired the idea of Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform. His personal habits were simple,

and he intensely disliked the state that is generally considered necessary for the position he occupied. In this respect, as well as in his philanthropic care for the peoples of India, economy n administration and earnest desire to preserve peace, he may be compared with the other essentially Liberal Governor-General among his successors, Lord Ripon. It was said of him that he "infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom."
(*b*) His External Policy—In foreign affairs and in his relations with the Indian powers, Bentinck sedulously upheld the doctrine of non-intervention pressed upon him by the authorities at home as well as by his sympathies and habit of mind. In necessary cases, however, he did not even shrink from intervention. But his motive was always hatred of misgovernment, not extension of British influence or acquisition of territory. (Read Thompson p. 335). Three cases may be especially noticed: in one he took over the whole administration of a feudatory state, in the other two he made his only annexations to British dominion. (1) Mysore—The Raja set up by Wellesley, when he came of age, proved utterly unworthy of the trust conferred upon him. But Wellesley had explicitly reserved the right of resuming the government of the state in the event of maladministration, and therefore Bentinck in 1831 pensioned off the Raja, and for fifty years the country was administered entirely by British officials. (2) Cachar—In 1832 the small principality of Cachar on the north-east frontier of Bengal, from which the Burmese horde had withdrawn by the Treaty of Yandabu, was annexed at the request of the inhabitants. (3) Coorg—In 1834 he deposed the Raja of Coorg, "a monster of cruelty," and incorporated the country in British dominion, "in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people." Again, he interfered and effected a settlement when civil war was imminent in the states of Bhopal, Gwalior and Jaipur. Lastly, the Directors authorised him to assume the administration of Oudh which was mismanaged by the Nawab, but as he was on the point of leaving India, he left the problem to his successors. This peaceful and financially prosperous administration, undoubtedly did the East India Company a great service, for any disastrous war or pecuniary deficit would have been promptly

driven home when the question of the renewal of the Charter, which expired in 1834, again came to the fore. (*c*) His Internal Policy—His internal policy may be considered under the three heads of economical, administrative, and social reform. (1) His Economical Measures—His first duty was retrenchment, rendered necessary by the wasteful extravagance of the Burmese War. A saving of one and a half millions was made by economies in the civil and military services. (2) His Administrative Reforms—He abolished the provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Cornwallis, which by their dilatory procedure had blocked the course of justice and merely afforded "resting places for those members of the service who were deemed unfit for higher responsibilities." The judicial reforms of Cornwallis had found no place for the employment of Indians except in the lowest grades; and though this defect had largely been remedied since that time by the appointment of many native judges, the home authorities and the most enlightened of the Civil Servants in India were in favour of extending the principle. Measures were now taken for enlarging the jurisdiction of Indian judges and increasing their salaries. At the same time a great boon was conferred upon the people by permitting the use of the vernacular tongue instead of Persian. He gave magisterial powers to the District Judges. An additional High Court was established at Allahabad for the North-West Provinces, and a new Board of Revenue was appointed for the same provinces, which began the great revenue settlement of the provinces, which took ten years to complete. (3) His Social Reforms—He abolished the "inhuman rite" of *Sati* in 1829. It is said that no fewer than 700 women were burnt alive according to this rite in 1817 in Bengal alone. "Even men like Elphinstone, whose humanity was beyond question, seem to have dreaded the change, on the ground that it would violate the Company's traditional policy of toleration, and there were many dismal prophecies of disturbances if the custom were prohibited". He began the movement to suppress the Thugs, brotherhoods of hereditary assassins, who formed into a caste and worshipping goddess Kali, went about the country strangling and robbing peaceful travellers. He attempted also to check the practice

among the Rajputs of killing their female infants. He abolished slavery. By such means Bentinck showed his care for the moral and material welfare of the people. Lastly, he attempted to introduce English as the official language and as the medium of instruction. It was decided in 1833 that the funds granted by government for education should be henceforward devoted, not to the fostering of Oriental learning, but to the instruction of the nations of India in the English language and in western science.

C. **The Charter Act of 1833**—Ideas of Reform and Free Trade were everywhere triumphant, and Huskisson himself led the attack upon the Company's monopoly of trade with China which was allowed by the Act of 1813. By the Act of 1833, the Company was divested itself of its commercial character, and the Company was allowed to remain in an anomalous position, half a private corporation, half a government department, its dividend now fixed at $10\frac{1}{2}\%$, a charge upon the revenues of India. The Act further constituted a fourth Presidency of Agra (soon afterwards, 1835, reduced to the lieutenant-governorship of the North-West Provinces), conferred on the government of India the power of passing Acts instead of Regulations, added a fourth (legal) member to the Council of the Governor-General (Macaulay being the first to hold the office), gave the head of the supreme government for the first time the title of *Governor-General of India*, instead of Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and definitely and finally subordinated the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras to his control. The Act further gave the stamp of national and Parliamentary approval of the liberal policy of the reigning Governor-General in laying down the famous principle, a full realisation of which is only becoming possible in our own time, "that no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour." Finally, every British subject was to enjoy the right of proceeding to the principal seats of government in India without license, and of purchasing and holding lands. Henceforward, therefore, there was no legal barrier to the colonization, in the ordinary sense of the word, of the Presidency towns. (Roberts).

D. Sir Charles Metcalfe (1835—1836).—On the resignation of Bentinck in 1835, Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the ablest of the Company's servants in India, who had just been appointed Governor of the new Presidency of Agra, was made provisional Governor-General. His name is remembered for the abolition of the Press regulations and leaving journalists subject only to the ordinary laws against libel and sedition. The censorship of the Press had been originally established by Lord Wellesley in 1801, for military reasons during the war with France. A government official was charged with the duty of reading all journals before publication, and striking out any thing he deemed inadvisable. The censorship was nominally abolished by Lord Hastings seventeen years later—nominally, because, though he did away with the name of an invidious office, he issued a comprehensive set of rules, very strictly limiting the topics with which Indian papers might deal, and practically prohibiting all criticism of the Executive under penalty of deportation from India. In 1823 new regulations were made obliging every printer in Bengal to obtain a license before he could publish a newspaper. Four years later a similar rule was adopted in Bombay. These Press regulations remained in force till they were repealed by Metcalfe. This liberal measure was considered premature by the Court of Directors, and made him forfeit their favour of making him permanent in the office. On being appointed to the inferior office of the governorship of Madras, he resigned the service. The Directors thus allowed one of their ablest servants to leave India.

E. Lord Auckland (1836—1842).—"In an evil hour for India and Great Britain, the Directors entrusted the governor-generalship to Lord Auckland." The main event of his period was the *First Afghan War* (1839—1842). With the accession of Lord Auckland to office the chief centre of political interest shifts to the north-west frontier of India, and the frontier problem begins. (For detailed examination of the War, see Appendix on "the Afghan Question"). Criticism of the War—The war was dictated by a mistaken policy of enforcing an unpopular ruler on an unwilling people and interfering in internal affairs. It was a

visionary scheme in an unknown country. It was conducted from its start to its tragic finish by the blunders of men who had taken no pains to study the difficulties of the task and had not the needful resources or tenacity to meet them when they arose. The first Afghan campaign ended not only in failure, but also under disgrace to British arms.

F. Lord Ellenborough (1842—1844)—Conclusion of the Afghan War (1842)—The Company managed to vindicate its honour and power, and the generals received orders to retire from Afghanistan. (Thompson, p. 343). (2) Annexation of Sindh (1843)—The war with the Amirs of Sindh ended in its annexation. (Read Thompson pp. 331—5). (3) The Gwalior outbreak (1843)—The outbreak required an armed intervention in this protected State. Until the heir to the throne came of age, the government was to be carried on by a Council of Regency, acting under the advice of the British Resident.

G. Lord Hardinge (1844—1848)—(1) His External Policy—The First Sikh War (1845—6). (Thompson pp. 346—7). The war was concluded by the Treaty of Lahore by which it was settled that the British boundary should be brought forward to the Bias, an idemnity of one and a half crores was to be paid, the Sikh army was to be reduced and some of its remaining artillery surrendered. The Government was left in the hands of the Queen mother, a British Resident was appointed to reside at the Court, and at the request of the Regency Government a British contingent was to be stationed at Lahore. (2) His Internal Policy—He cut down the military expenditure by reducing the size of the army. The first great irrigation project, the Ganges Canal, was pushed forward, and the then infant railway enterprise was encouraged.

2. Lord Dalhousie (1848—1856)—Introduction.

A. Character of Dalhousie—The Earl of Dalhousie was the youngest Governor-General that had hitherto held office, being only thirty-six years of age, and the last but one of the Governors-General, and he takes rank with the greatest. He landed at Calcutta in January 1848. He had already made his

mark in English political life as Vice-President and then President of the Board of Trade. The young statesman showed an extraordinary power of getting through work, as well as sound judgment in condemning or commending. He proved himself to be a master who expected prompt obedience and efficient service. "Notwithstanding his physical disability and almost incessant suffering, the marvellous strength of his will enabled him to perform an amount of work of the highest quality which exceeded the powers of most statesmen, even when blessed with perfect health." (Smith, p. 697).

B. **The Situation on His Arrival**—His administration opened under the most favourable auspices. Half a century elapsed since Wellesley laid the foundation of British supremacy in India. Though his policy was reversed during the administration of Cornwallis, Barlow, and Minto, yet Wellesley's principles had ultimately triumphed. Hastings' administration was a complete return to Wellesley's policy of interference. His successors, Amherst, Bentinck, Auckland, Ellenborough and Hardinge, kept intact the territories which they administered, consolidated British rule in India, and extended British possessions. Thus, when Dalhousie arrived, the great work of building a colonial empire had already been successfully begun. It was his lot to complete the work of his predecessors. "Whether for good or ill, he was destined to leave a deeper personal impress on the destinies of India than any of his predecessors since Lord Wellesley." (Roberts).

C. **The Plan of His Work**—He took a forward step in the expansion of British India by annexations on a large scale. There were four classes of annexations—by conquest, by lapse, by mismanagement, and by assignment. He left several permanent traces of his administration in various works for the moral and material progress of the peoples of the country. "Though Dalhousie's name has been associated with a policy of political aggression, his heart was really in domestic reform, and perhaps his greatest achievements are to be found in that branch of government." (Thompson).

3. Annexation by Conquest.

A. The Second Sikh War(1848—1849)—The defects in the arrangements of Hardinge at the close of the First Sikh War and the revolt of the national and anti-foreign party and the Multan outbreak led to the second war. In January 1840 the indecisive battle of Chilianwala was fought, but in February the decisive battle was fought at Gujarat, in which the Sikh army was annihilated. Meanwhile after a desperate resistance the town of Multan was stormed. In March the remnant of the Khalsa army laid down their arms. Dalhousie was given a Marquisate for his success. He annexed the whole of the Punjab by proclamation on March 29, 1849—"a momentous step which finally carried the frontiers of British India to their natural limits, the base of the mountains of Afghanistan." The Sikhs submitted to their lot more quietly than any one had anticipated, and as regards the material result the policy of the annexation was abundantly justified. (Roberts, p. 345). The most wonderful tribute to the success of the settlement of Dalhousie was the material prosperity and the contentment of the people. Within three years of the Chilianwala, Sikh soldiers were fighting for the Company in Burma of their own free will, and when a little later the Mutiny threatened the existence of British dominions in India and offered to all subject peoples an unequalled opportunity for vengeance on their conquerors, the Punjab never faltered in its loyalty.

B. The Second Burmese War (1852)—The second war of Dalhousie's administration was waged on the far eastern frontier. Owing to the persecution of the English merchants who had settled on the southern coast of Burma after the First Burmese War and the insults offered to the Resident at Alva, the Burmese brought upon themselves the vigorous action of Dalhousie. An expedition was sent to Rangoon. Martaban was captured, the great pagoda of Rangoon was stormed in April, and Bassein also fell in May. Dalhousie himself proceeded to Rangoon in September, occupied Prome in October, and relieved Pegu which had already been captured but was being

beseiged by the Burmese. The Court ef Directors required that he should either secure the cession of Pegu by a treaty or else to make an advance to Alva and subjugate the whole country. As his overtures for a treaty produced no response, he proclaimed the annexation of Pegu or Lower Burma in December 1852. The results completely justified his bold action. Though the Burmese never formally recognised the cession of territory, they were too cowed to resent it in arms. Importance of the War— Independent Burma was now shut off altogether from the sea, and the whole coast-line of the Bay of Bengal from Cape Comorin to the Malay Peninsula passed under British control. "The possession of the territory enabled the British maritime power to settle itself securely on the land with a base on the seas." (Lyall, p. 319).

4. Annnexation by Lapse.

A. The Doctrine of Lapse—(*a*) The Dilemma—Sir William Lee-Warner has noticed three epochs in British relations with native states, first that of the 'ring fence' down to 1813, when native states were treated as really foreign and not interfered with; secondly, that of 'subordinate isolation' from 1813 to 1857, when the states were protected but their interval affairs were left entirely to themselves; and thirdly, that of 'subordinate union' from 1857 to the present day, when none are permitted to suffer from the misrule of their chiefs. Now in the first stage the oppressed subjects had at least the remedy of rebellion, in the last they can appeal to the strong arm of the suzerain; but in the middle stage they had no redress. The British government often found itself confronted by the unpleasant dilemma of either breaking its agreements with native rulers or allowing their subjects to be down-trodden. (*b*) Dalhousie's solution— Dalhousie sought a way out and found it in the famous doctrine of 'lapse,' the principle of which had been distinctly recognized before his time. It was that in dependent states or those that owed their very existence to British power, the sovereignty, when the natural heirs of the royal line came to an end, passed back or 'lapsed' to the supreme power. The question, however,

was complicated by that of adoption. All childless Hindus were accustomed to adopt sons whose main duty it was to perform those funeral rites without which the dead man it was held, would find no rest in the life after. "Dalhousie claimed, undoubtedly with perfect correctness, that the sovereignty of a ruler could not pass to a son adopted without the consent of the suzerain." (Roberts).

B. Criticism of the Doctrine—It must be remembered in the first place that the doctrine was not invented by Dalhousie; the principle at any rate had been recognized as early as 1834; secondly, that he applied it only to dependent states—those which had been avowedly dependencies of some suzerain conquered by Great Britain or had been actually established by her; thirdly, that in applying the doctrine he was animated by compassion for the peoples of the feudatory states as well as by a desire for territorial aggrandizement. It is not true as has been so often said that all native states were in danger of falling under British sway; for Dalhousie clearly recognised the right of those rulers, whose sovereignty dated back before the British regime, to adopt heirs freely. On the other hand, it is equally to be remembered that there was some technical difficulty in deciding which states were dependent and which were not, and the Governor-General's decision was sometimes overruled, as in the case of Karauli, secondly, that whatever may have been the facts, the natives did undoubtedly believe that the existence of all native principalities was threatened. As Innes says, "there was fully adequate precedent for every one of his annexations. But his predecessors had acted on the general principle of avoiding annexation if it could be avoided; Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately.' Moreover, Dalhousie was sometimes rather unguarded and injudicious' in the language he employed. There is much evidence to show that there was great uneasiness in the minds of native rulers.

C. Examination of the Cases of Lapse—The states that actually passed under British sway by lapse were Satara in 1868, Jaipur and Sambalpur in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur

in 1852, Jhansi in 1853, and Nagpur in 1854. (*a*) Cases that can be justified are those of Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur. Satara was purely the creation of the British government; it had been bestowed as a principality on the representative of the house of Sivaji by Lord Hastings in 1819 after the overthrow of the Peshwa. Jhansi was a tributary and dependent state in Bundlekhand which also passed under British sway among Baji Rao's other dominions. Nagpur was by far the most important of all the lapsed states. Conquered in 1818, Hastings had given back the forfeited kingdom to a prince of the royal house. The last raja died in 1853, leaving neither collateral heirs nor adopted son. And as it was the finest cotton land in India and as it gave the complete control of the land route from Calcutta to Bombay it was annexed. However, Robert says, "The public auction of the jewels and furniture of the royal house, which made such an unfortunate impression, was a tactless blunder and one that might well have been avoided." (*b*) In the other four cases there was some legitimate doubt as to whether they, properly speaking, fell under the definition of dependent states. Moreover, the states were small, and the gain of subjecting them to British rule hardly compensated for the uneasiness caused to surrounding chiefs. In the case of Baghat, a Cis-Sutlej hill State, and Udaipur, Dalhousie's decision was afterwards reversed by Lord Canning. Again, the home government refused to approve of his tentative proposal to annex the little Rajput state of Karauli, on the ground that it was 'a protected ally' and not 'dependent'. "On higher political grounds, it would have been extremely impolitic to annex these ancient Rajput States, and it is perhaps surprising that the Governor-General ever suggested it." (Roberts)

5. Other Forms of Annexations.

A. Annexation because of Mismanagement—Oudh (1856).—Since Wellesley's treaty of 1801, Oudh had been a protected feudatory state with full internal dependence. Power without responsibility was thus given to the ruler of Oudh, on whom the title of King was conferred by Lord Hastings in 1819, and the degeneration of the native administration followed its

dreary and normal course in such cases. The court was given up to luxury; the people were oppressed; and for many years the disorder had been going from bad to worse. All the warnings of successive Governors-General did not produce any effect. Colonel Sleeman in 1851 and Colonel Outram in 1854, both as a rule supporters of native dynasties and opposed to the policy of lapse, reported that the condition of Oudh was deplorable and could hardly be worse. Lord Dalhousie himself was in favour of taking over the administration and leaving to the King his nominal sovereignty with his palace, rank and titles. But the home authorities overruled him and decided on annexation. Outram in vain attempted to induce the King to abdicate; the annexation was proclaimed in February 1856, and a generous pension was settled on the deposed monarch. Criticism—"In this particular case they (home authorities) were undoubtedly wrong and the Governor-General right. Lord Dalhousie would never have suggested the recognition of a titular sovereignty, to which he was generally much opposed, had it not been for strong countervailing reasons. There were first, the unswerving loyalty of the Oudh dynasty to British rule ever since the treaty of 1801, secondly, the fact that the King of Oudh could with some reason maintain that annexation involved the repudiation of treaty obligations." (Roberts, p. 355). For this annexation the home authorities, and not Dalhousie, were responsible.

B. Annexation by Assignment—Berar (1853)—The Nizam of Hyderabad maintained a contingent with British officers controlled by the Resident. The payments were constantly in arrears. Hence the ministers of the Nizam agreed to transfer territory. The Settlement—Berar and other districts were assigned to be under the control of the Resident, the Nizam retaining his sovereignty. The Nizam was released from his treaty obligation to help the British with troops when called on. In 1860 a portion of the territory was restored when it had been proved that under British administration Berar by itself supplied the requisite revenue. Difficulties continued to be experienced, and in 1902 the Nizam agreed with Lord Curzon to assign Berar to the Government of India under a perpetual lease, so that it is now, all but in name, part of British India, and is attached to the Central Provinces.

C. Abolition of Titles—He did away with several titular dignitaries. The Nawab of Arcot and the Raja of Tanjore had long ceased to be ruling Princes, and on their death their titles were abolished. He refused to continue to the Peshwa the Personal allowance of eight lakhs a year. He also stipulated that, on the death of the aged Bahadur Shah, his heir should remove from Delhi though he was willing to allow him a handsome pension and the title of king. All these relations served as causes of the Mutiny.

6. Dalhousie's Internal Policy.

A. Administrative Reforms—He made the machinery of the Supreme Government more workable by getting rid of antiquated survivals in procedure and by arranging the work on a sensible departmental basis. A lieutenant-governor was appointed for Bengal (1854). A particularly inefficient body called the Military Board, which was supposed to look after public works, was suppressed, and the Department of Public Works (P. W. D.) was constituted nearly in its existing form.

B. Public Works—The expenditure on public works was enormously increased, and works of great magnitude, such as the Grand Trunk Road, were undertaken. Due attention was paid to irrigation canals, especially the Ganges Canal. He utilized his English experience as President of the Board of Trade to sketch a well-considered plan of trunk and branch railways, which forms the basis of the existing railway system. The earliest line, a short one from Bombay to Thana, planned under Lord Hardinge, was opened by Dalhousie in 1853. A year later Calcutta was connected with the Raniganj coal-fields, and a few miles of rails were laid in the Madras Presidency. He also founded the first telegraph wire—'the accursed string that strangled us,' as one of the mutineers called it. He introduced the uniform half-anna postal rate. Before his reforms it cost a rupee to send a letter from Calcutta to Bombay.

C. Educational Reforms—He was called upon to carry out the famous educational dispatch sent out by sir Charles Wood (Lord Halifax) in 1854, which laid the foundation of the

existing system of vernacular schools and which "sketched in outline a complete scheme of public education controlled and aided, and in part directly managed by the state". It established a University with affiliated colleges in each of the three presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, in 1857. He formally inaugurated the Department of Public Instruction.

D. Policy of Religious Neutrality—In 1850 he passed an Act which established the principle of the liberty of conscience in the government of British India; by which the Company ceased to recognise or to enfore as law any prescription or custom which inflicted disabilities merely for change of religious faith. Himself a deeply religious man and always respectful towards the religions of others, Dalhousie saw the necessity in India for Government to follow a policy of strict neutrality and true toleration. He distinguished between the duties of the Church and of the State, leaving every man free to follow the bidding of his conscience and reason.

E. The Charter Act of 1853—The Act threw open the civil service to competition, and thus deprived the Directors of their most valued privilege, the patronage of India; it reduced their numbers from twenty-four to eighteen, and made six of them nominees of the Crown. This enabled the Government to appoint to the Court retired servants of the Company, men who had little chance of being elected under the old system, and thus to leaven the directorate with first-hand Indian experience. "The Act was obviously preparing the way for the assumption by the Crown of the Government of India in name as well as in fact, for it gave no definite renewal of the charter for a term of years as former measures had done, but merely provided that the Indian territories should remain under the administration of the Company in trust for the Crown until Parliament should determine otherwise. The Act of 1858 completed the process thus begun" (Roberts, p. 383).

F. Estimate of Dalhousie's Work and Character—Naturally, though in great measure unjustly, his great annexations of territory, his innovations and reforms, were held to be the

main cause of the revolt—the Mutiny. He was accused of roughly overriding native feeling and native susceptibilities, of blindness to signs of unrest in the sepoy army, and allowing the proportion of European to native troops to sink to too low a point. The publication of his private letters within the last decade, has cleared up many doubtful points, but his reputation had long been rehabilitated. Most of the charges against him were found to have been grossly exaggerated and some absolutely disproved. The great traits of his character are no longer in dispute. He was inspired with a noble and vivid ideal of duty, which drove him on to sacrifice his health and comfort recklessly. "As an imperial administrator", says Sir Richard Temple, one of his subordinates, "he has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any of the illustrious men whom England had sent forth to govern India." "No criticism can alter the fact that Lord Dalhousie must always be allowed a place in the front rank of the Governors-General, by the side of Warren Hastings, Wellesley and the Marquess of Hastings". (Smith, p. 709), "His fair fame emerges clear from the darkness of that tempest as one who feared God and loved his fellow-men—a maker of modern India." (Thompson). Whether he is to be adjudged greater or less great than the general verdict pronounces him to-day, more far-sighted or less so than we deem him, it is at least certain his place will be found among the great rulers who have guided the destinies of the race, and have emphatically "made History."

CHAPTER III. LORD CANNING

[Cunningham, *Earl Canning;* Lyall, Ch. XVII; Innes, Ch. XXII—XXVIII; Thompson, Ch. XVI, pp. 357—64; Keene, Vol. II., Ch. XX; Roberts, Ch. XXIX; Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Bk. VIII; Ch, 5],

1. Introduction.

A. Viscount Canning—Viscount Canning, son of George Canning who had been Prime Minister in 1827, was in his forty-fourth year when he relieved Lord Dalhousie on the last day of February 1856. He had had considerable political experience as a member of Parliament and a minister, his last office being that of a post-master-general. He was capable and industrious but somewhat diffident of his own powers, and not personally ambitious, and slow in making up his mind to any particular course of action. He possessed the judicial rather than the administrative temperament. Had his lot been cast in peaceful times he would have been an ideal head for the Indian government, but he was called upon to deal with one of most terrible crises that ever confronted a statesman.

B. The Military Situation in India—Lord Dalhousie had not the slightest prevision of the storm that was to break in May, and naturally had not made any arrangements to meet it. His minutes on army organization, which have been preserved, were mainly directed to the purpose of maintaining in India an adequate proportion of European troops. He must share with his predecessors the censure due for permitting the continuance of a most dangerous military situation in India. He had not taken any precautions to protect the enormous store of munitions at Delhi, which was left in the hands of the native army, or to secure the essential strategical position of Allahabad. Everywhere, except the Punjab, the old haphazard distribution of the troops continued, and no body, military or civil, seems to have realized the obvious perils incurred. (Smith).

2. His External Relations.

A. Persian War (1856)—In 1855 the British minister at Teheran had been driven away by insulting treatment, and in 1856 Persian forces occupied Herat—a breach of the treaty of 1814. Canning was ordered by the Home Government to declare war in the name of the Company. A British expedition was sent to the Persian Gulf, captured Bushire and inflicted several defeats on the enemy. Finally a peace was made in May by which Persia agreed to evacuate Herat and interfere no more in Afghan affairs. "This attack upon a Mahommedan country was very unpopular among Indian Mahommedans." (Prothero). This short war, and two treaties made in 1855 and 1857 with Dost Muhammad of Afghanistan were of importance as winning the favour of the Afghan chief and preventing him from embarrassing the English during the Mutiny.

B. Chinese War (1856—1860)—The high-handed action of the representatives of Great Britain in China brought on hostilities over a trifling incident in November 1856, which lasted with certain interruptions until 1860. British troops proceeding to India were then ordered to go round by China, and help in the operations at Canton. "The knowledge that the English were engaged in so many wars, and that the proportion of European troops in India was dangerously low, while the most important strategical points in the interior were in sepoy hands, fostered the unrest which then prevailed in the native army." (Smith).

3. The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857.

A. The Origin and Meaning of the Mutiny—There are two main views on the origin and meaning of the Indian Mutiny: one, that it was a mere military rising; and the other, that it was a widespread conspiracy carefully organized for the over-throw of the British power. "The truth has to be found somewhere between those who say that the revolt was simply a Mutiny of sepoys in a panic, and those who call the Mutiny an organised revolt. The panic was engineered by political intriguers, but the insurrection was not organised." (Innes, p. 397). The Indian Mutiny was in no sense a national rising. The great mass of the people in the affected districts either stood neutral

waiting with the immemorial patience of the east to accept the yoke of the conqueror or helped the British troops with food and service, in many cases also sheltering British fugitives to the best of their ability. The attempt to throw off the British yoke was confined to a few disaffected ex-rulers and their heirs, besides the high-way men who saw their way to profit by the removal of the British administration under which their peculiar talents found no safe outlet.

B. Causes—The causes of the Mutiny may be summed up under the headings, political, social, religious and military. (*a*) Political Causes—(1) "There can be no doubt that Dalhousie's annexations and the doctrine of lapse had caused a thrill of uneasiness and suspicion throughout India." (Roberts). (2) The restraint placed on the turbulent and predatory peoples made the British government unpopular among them. (3) The Mughal and Maratta ruling classes were disappointed. (4) The talukdars, or the landed nobles, observed with alarm and anger the progress of a revenue settlement, which, in their view, threatened to exterminate them as a class. (*b*) Social Causes and Religious Causes—The growth of the new civilisation, especially rapid under Dalhousie, alarmed the common people, who saw the old order giving way before it. Railways and Telegraphs were thought to be sinister devices for fastening a foreign tyranny upon the people. Christian missonary labours and the passing of measures of social reform, such as Dalhousie's Act legalising the re-marriage of Hindu widows, were all making for change. "There was a widespread belief that Lord Canning had been commissioned to convert India to Christianity. Hindu mythology had been disparaged in a brilliant essay by Macaulay, at one time member of the Governor-General's Council. Sati and infanticide had been prohibited. European science, astronomy, and surgery were all opposed to the teaching of the Brahmans. The mysticism and symbolism of the East were fading before the cold light of western materialism. The telegraph and railway were looked upon askance as magical and diabolical agencies". (Roberts). "The Mutiny was thus, in one aspect of it, a bloody struggle of an old with a new civilisation. It was a part of the

price of progress." (Thompson). (*c*) Military Causes—Had not the sepoys been nursing grievances of their own, the contest might never have arisen. (1) They were, however, discontented with their pay and the new terms of enlistment, especially the obligation to serve abroad. Several regiments of Bengal, consisting of high caste men, Brahmans and Rajputs, were disbanded between 1824 and 1857 for refusing to serve in Burma and Afghanistan. (Roberts, p. 365). (2) The disparity in numbers between European and Indian troops had lately been growing greater; when Lord Dalhousie left India the army consisted of 233,000 natives and 45,322 British soldiers. (3) The disproportion was rendered more serious by the growing deficiency of officers, and of officers of the best type, who had been employed by Dalhousie in increasing numbers for administrative posts upon the frontier. (4) The distribution of the troops was also very faulty. Delhi and Allahabad were wholly held by native levies and, except for one regiment at Dinapore, there were no British soldiers between Allahabad and Calcutta. (5) "The terrible blunder of the greased cartridges fanned into a fierce and devouring flame all this smouldering discontent". A rumour pervaded the sepoy army that the cartridges to be used with the new Enfield rifle had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs with the deliberate intention to outcast and defile both the Hindu, to whom the cow was sacred, and the Muhammadan, to whom swine were unclean. The story was everywhere received with an eager credulity which defied explanation, argument, remonstrance, and denial. This belief was like the match which explodes a magazine of powder.

C. **Course of the Mutiny**—The struggle gathers round the three cities of Delhi, Cawnpore, and Lucknow, which were representative of three chief sources of political disaffection—Mughal ambition, Maratta restlessness, and resentment of the Oudh nobles. (Thompson, p. 361). The sepoys rose against their officers, and bloody massacres were perpetrated at Meerut, Delhi and Cawnpore, while Lucknow was fiercely attacked. The English armies gradually suppressed the revolt: Lucknow was relieved and Delhi was beseiged and captured. The rebels were gradually reduced and peace and order were restored.

D. Results of the Mutiny—(*a*) Constitutional—By the Act for the better government of India of 1858, several radical changes were made in the constitution. (See Section 4 below). It marks the downfall of the East India Company and transferance of the Government of India to the Crown. India passed from the Company to the Crown. (*b*) Political—The political results were the Queen's Proclamation and assumption of power (Smith, p. 727), and the abandonment of the Doctrine of Lapse. By the Proclamation of November 1st, 1858, the government of India was taken over by the Crown; the office of the Governor-General was replaced by that of Viceroy; the treaties made by the Company with Indian princes were to remain in force; and all Indians were promised the same rights, their national customs and religious practices were not to be interfered with, and appointments to public offices were to be made according to the qualifications of the candidates. (*c*) Financial—Owing to the increase in the debt of the India Government due to the Mutiny, measures were deviced to restore the public credit, one measure introduced being the income-tax. (*d*) Military—The rule was laid down that one-third of the military forces in India must consist of European troops. Thus the mutiny is a turning-point in Indian history: it closed the political control of India by a trading Company.

4. The End of the East India Company.

A. Stages in the Parliamentary Control (1773-1853)—(1) In 1773 Lord North's Regulating Act marked the beginning of Parliamentary control. This Act appointed the first Governor-General and Council, though future appointments were still left to the Directors. (*Ante*, p. 287). (2) In 1784, Pitt's India Bill drew a sharp line of demarcation between political affairs and commercial business transactions. The latter remained with the Company while the former were transferred to a Board of Control. Furthermore all orders of the Board of Directors required the sanction of the Board of Control, so that Parliament became the practical ruler of the British territories in India. After this date, whenever the Charter of the Company had to be renewed, Parliament made a most searching inquiry into the doings of the

Company. (*Ante*, p. 294). (3) The Charter Act of 1793 extended the Company's privileges for another 24 years, with the small concession that 3,000 tons of shipping should be provided annually for the use of private shippers. (*Ante*, p. 299). (4) The Charter Act of 1813 asserted that the Company and the Crown were *joint possessors* of the British territories in India, and threw open the trade to India, leaving the Company the monopoly of the profitable commerce with China. (*Ante*, p. 316). (5) The Charter Act of 1833 declared that the Company held its possessions in India *in trust* for the Crown, and the Company was divested itself of its commercial character. (*Ante*, p. 324). (6) The Charter Act of 1853 deprived the Company of the right of patronage, that is, the right to appoint its own servants. (*Ante*, p. 334). Thus the authority of the Company gradually decreased while that of Parliament steadily increased.

B. Assumption of Power by the Crown—Finally the Great Indian Mutiny swept away the greatest commercial Company known in the history of the world. By the "Act for Better Government of India" in 1858 the administration of India was transferred from the Board of Directors to the Secretary of State for India, a member of the British Cabinet, and the Company ceased to exist. The following arrangements were made for the government of India by this Act. (*a*) Home Constitution—By the new Constitution, the East India Company and the Board of Control were both abolished. Instead of them, the ultimate responsibility for the Government of India was vested in a parliamentary Secretary of State who should be a member of the Imperial Government for the time being (*i. e.*, the Cabinet) with a Council of fifteen, appointed in the first instance for life, afterwards for ten to fifteen years; eight members were selected by the Crown, seven by the Court of Directors, subsequent vacancies in these seven places being filled by the Council itself. "As the Directors disappeared, their places were filled by Indian officials or ex-officials, the India Office thus becoming a Department of State in the hands of experts, with a Parliamentary chief." (Innes, p. 331). (*b*) Importance of this change—"One of the chief advantages of the transfer of government from the Company to

the Crown, though it caused at the time serious disaffection among the white troops, and especially among the officers, lay in the end of the awkward dualism of the Company's and the Queen's army, the Indian and the Royal navy." (Roberts, p. 383).
(c) India Constitution—(1) In India also some degree of reconstruction took place. The work of administration remained in the same hands, the Company's "Covenanted Service" becoming the Indian Civil Service of the Crown. (2) The Viceroy or Governor-General, Governors of the Presidencies, and Ordinary Members of the Supreme Council were to be appointed by the Crown.

C. Estimate of the Work of the E. I. Company—Thus ended the Honourable East India Company, not so much from any special responsibility for the Mutiny, for in political matters it had been for many years absolutely controlled by the state, but because it was felt to be an anachronism that a private corporation should, even though it were only in name, administer so vast a dominion. 'It was created by the Crown, two hundred and fifty years before,' says Marshman, 'for the purpose of extending British commerce to the East: and it transferred to the Crown on relinquishing its functions an empire more magnificent than that of Rome.' This great work was not accomplished without some blunders and political crimes. To disguise them and to maintain that British administrators were always swayed by impeccable motives and unerring statesmanship is to produce an unreal and impossible picture, for we are dealing after all with human agency. But when all necessary qualifications are made the annals of the Company form one of the most fascinating and illustrious pages in history. There were grave mistakes, but they were swept away. If territories were sometimes questionably acquired, they were honestly and capably administered. Of the Company's servants, Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, and Dalhousie were amongst the greatest Englishmen of their day as conquerors or statesman; others, such as Cornwallis, Bentinck, Munro, Thomason, Metcalfe, evolved in an uncongenial atmosphere a high standard of humanitarian administration. (Roberts).

BOOK VI

THE PROGRESS OF INDIA UNDER THE CROWN (1858—1921)

CHAPTER I. THE PERIOD OF CALM (1858—1899)

1. Introduction.

A. **A New Era**—Indian History enters upon a period which brings us down to our own times. Many of the actors in the events described are still alive. We stand too near to them to see their work in its true proportions, and our record must be brief. (Thompson). A period of calm followed the great storm, when reforms and measures for the progress of Indian peoples were introduced. A new policy of conciliation takes the place of force and domination. The greatest political feature of the period since the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 has been the gradual evolution of representative institutions with the utlimate object of giving to the country a responsible government and finally self-government. The whole period of sixty years divides itself naturally into two periods—the period of *calm*, one of peace and concord between the rulers and the subjects, followed by a period of *storm*, one of agitation and struggle for self-government.

B. **The Evolution of Feudatory India**—After the Mutiny a new sentiment sprang up friendly to the Indian princes. English statesmen perceived that, though progress might be slow and long delayed in a Native state, yet when reforms came from the hand of an Indian ruler, they were more acceptable than when they were thrust upon the people by a British administrator; and that it was better patiently to train an Indian prince to govern well than to set him aside and do the work

more efficiently in his stead. Moreover, the Native states offered a clear field for the use by Indians of their administrative abilities. In a word, the Indian princes were no longer regarded as stumbling-blocks in the path of progress to be removed at the first opportunity; they became welcome "colleagues and partners in the task of administration." (Thompson, p. 369). Accordingly Canning adopted a policy of conciliation. He made an extensive tour all over India, and everywhere held durbars in order to pursuade the princes and peoples of India that the promises contained in the Queen's Praclamation will be faithfully kept. The wisdom of this new policy has been sufficiently vindicated by the late European war and the support India gave to Britain in men, money and materials.

2. Lord Canning—The First Viceroy (1858—1862).

A. Reforms—(*a*) Financial—James Wilson was brought from England to reorganise the finances of India after the Mutiny. He imposed the Income Tax in 1860 and established the Paper Currency. (*b*) Legal—The Indian Penal Code became law in 1860 and the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure in 1861. The Supreme Court and Sadr Diwani Adalat were abolished and replaced by the Calcutta High Court. Non-official members were added to the Viceroy's Council and to the Councils of Madras and Bombay, to which the legislative powers, taken away by the Charter Act of 1833, were restored in 1861 by the Indian Councils Act. A similar Council was established for Bengal in 1862. Additional members might also be nominated for the purpose of legislation only.

B. Indian Universities—The Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were founded in 1859 to further the advancement of learning, and to mark the proficiency in its various branches by the grant of degrees to all persons found qualified.

C. The New Policy of the Britsh Government—"The fatal doctrine of lapse was buried out of sight; and a policy of justice was substituted for a policy of annexation. The objection that indulgence to chiefs was not justice to their subjects was seen to have been greatly overdone; and whatever

truth it might contain was met by the more excellent way of holding the chiefs personally responsible for the humanity and efficiency of their administration." (Keene, p. 241).

3. Interval between Canning and Lytton.

A. **Lord Elgin I (1862-63)**—The one event of his time which we shall notice was the campaign against the Wahabi fanatics on the North-west Frontier. Though the first force despatched to chastise them was blocked up in the defiles, finally their stronghold of Malka was destroyed.

B. **Sir John Lawrence (1864—69)**—He had won fame by his administration of the Punjab and the help he had rendered in the stress of the Mutiny. The unrest among the frontier tribes led to his selection as one who knew them well. (1) His Internal Policy—His great aim as an administrator had been to give the ryots peace and plenty. The chief events of his administration were the Settlement of Revenue affairs in the Punjab and Oudh, and the great Orissa famine in 1866 which roused the Government to make more systematic attempts to cope with famine by the improvement of communications and the construction of irrigation canals, for which they established a separate department of public works. (2) His External Policy—Though there were succession disputes and civil war in Afghanistan and though the authorities in England and in India were firmly resolved to keep the Russians out of Afghanistan, he followed what has been described, as a policy of "masterly inactivity." Due to Russian policy this was impracticable. (Marshman, p. 529). The Bhutan War—(Thompson, p. 373)—At the end of the war, peace was declared, Bhutan ceding the districts known as the Eighteen Dwars and getting in return an annual subsidy of £ 5,000.

C. **Lord Mayo (1869—72)**—(*a*) His External Policy—(1) The Afghan Policy—Sher Ali regained his position at Kabul and desired the Government of India to support him against all rivals. Mayo could not accept the condition. (2) The Burmese Affairs—(Wheeler, p. 681). (*b*) His Internal Policy—Financial Reforms—He regulated expenses so as not to have deficits.

The most beneficial of his reforms was the introduction of the Provincial Contract System. (Thompson, p. 374). He also abolished some export duties and surviving inland tolls which hampered foreign and internal trade. He was murdered at the Andamans.

D. Lord Northbrook (1872—76)—Edward, Prince of Wales, toured through the country (1875—6). The trial of the *Gaikwar* of Baroda for an attempt to poison the British Resident of his capital. The Afghan Policy—He was in favour of coming to a clear understanding with the Russian Government in Europe, rather than sending a British Resident to Kabul. Lord Lytton succeeded him in 1876.

4. Lord Lytton (1877–1880).

A. His Internal Policy—The Queen's Proclamation—(1877; Jan, 1). A great Darbar was held in Delhi to celebrate the assumption by Queen Victoria of the title of "Empress of India." His viceroyalty was chiefly remarkable for the famine in Southern India, 1876—77, in which the mortality was over five million lives.

B. His External Policy—The Afghan Question—(1) The Second Afghan War (1878)—Sher Ali, long dissatisfied with the aloofness of the Indian Government, was aggrieved by its acquisition of Quetta in 1876, and turning his face in displeasure from Calcutta, he received a Russian embassy. The British cabinet insisted on his receiving an English envoy, but he refused. Three columns entered the country by way of the Khaibar, Kurram and Bolan Passes. Sher Ali fled from his capital and died in exile. His son made the Treaty of Gandamak by which he agreed to have no diplomatic relations with Russia, to transfer the suzerainty of the frontier tribes to the British, and to receive a Resident at Kabul, (2) The Third Afghan War 1879—81). The Resident was attacked and slain in Kabul. Thereupon Lord Roberts marched upon Kabul. But the whole war ended in defeat and the withdrawl of the British force. (Later history of the Afghan relations, see Thompson pp. 377—8).

5. Interval between Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon.

A. **Lord Ripon (1880—84)**—*(a)* His External Policy—In 1881 the British Government proved the sincerity of its profession of good will to the Native states by handing over to the young prince Chamrajendra Odeyar, who came of age, the country of Mysore which had been for fifty years under a British Commission. *(b)* His Internal Policy—He repealed the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. In 1882 the Local Government Act was passed which established the Municipal and District Councils, with the object of giving the people a share in the management of their local affairs through their elected representatives, and to train them in self-government. The Ilbert's Bill. (Thompson p 380). He left India amid many tokens of popular esteem. He was a Catholic.

B. **Lord Dufferin (1884–88)**—*(a)* His Internal Policy—The chief events were the Scheme for the larger employment of Indians in Civil Service, (Thompson, p. 380); the Victoria Golden Jubilee (1887); and Rent Acts of Bengal, Oudh and the Punjab. *(b)* His External Policy—The last large addition to the Indian Empire was made under him. By the Third Burmese War (1885), Upper Burma was annexed. The absorption of the whole Burmese Empire had thus been effected in sixty years, beginning with the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserin in 1826 and of Pegu in 1852. Criticism (Smith, p. 760).

C. **Lord Lansdowne (1888—94)**—*(a)* His External Policy—The "Scientific Frontier"—Baluchistan was brought completely under the suzerainty of the Indian Government. (Thompson, p. 382). *(b)* His Internal Policy—The Councils Act of 1892—It enlarged the Legislative Councils, enabling some of the non-official members to be elected by recognised bodies and it gave the members the right to put questions to Government on matters of administration, and to discuss the annual budget.

D. **Lord Elgin II (1894–99)**—*(a)* His External Policy—Frontier Settlements—Relations with Russia were improved by a treaty settling the frontier of the two Empires in the lofty mountains of the Pamirs. The demarcation of the Afghan

boundary was completed. The frontier line between Burma on one side and China and Siam on the other was marked out. *(b)* His Internal Policy—(1) Plague in Bombay in 1896 (Read Smith, p. 767). (2) The continued decline in the value of silver and the consequent depreciation in the value of money aggravated the financial difficulties of the administration. The Indian Government received its income in silver, and its payments in England had to be made in gold. (3) Famine of 1896-97, believed to have been the most severe ever known, was estimated to have affected a population of nearly seventy millions. He was succeeded by Lord Curzon in 1899.

CHAPTER II. THE PERIOD OF STORM (1899—1921)

1. Lord Curzon (1899—1905).

A. **Frontier Policy**—He made an entirely new departure in frontier policy by withdrawing British troops from the isolated frontier posts, and replacing them by tribal levies. He formed the North-West Frontier, including the four trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, with the tribal territory beyond their limits, and the six Political Agencies of Dir, Swat, Chitral, the Khyber, the Tochi Valley, and Wanto, into a province by itself, separate from the Punjab administration. and directly subordinate to the Government of India. The object of this policy was to bring the frontier and the tribes in the British sphere of influence beyond it more directly under the supervision of the Supreme Government.

B. **Famine Policy**—The famine of 1900—1901 was the worst in Indian history. In 1900 there were six million persons famine-stricken. He adopted several preventive measures. (1) He took a new departure in famine policy by not requiring every irrigation enterprise, which is undertaken as an insurance against famine, always to return a profit to Government and by allowing that there may be protective irrigation as well as protective

railways. (2) Another protective measure was the restriction placed upon the alienation of land for debt in the Deccan and the Punjab. (3) Several improvements were made in the incidence of the Land Revenue and in the method of levying the land tax. (4) As the profits of cultivation are seldom or never saved by the cultivator, but are always swallowed up by the money-lender, a system of Co-operative Banks had been established with the intention of reducing the power of the money-lenders.

C. **Educational Policy**—Education occupied a prominent place among the subjects which Lord Curzon took in hand. His Educational Policy was summarised in the Resolution of the Government of India, 11th March. 1904. The most important changes introduced were (1) the abolition of primary examinations and the substitution of general efficiency for payment by results, as the standard by which the primary schools are in future to be estimated; (2) Vernacular education, both primary and secondary, has been reformed on modern lines, by the introduction of an adaptation of the Kindergarten system; (3) Nature study, and hand and eye training have been introduced, and "the science of common life" is practically taught; (4) The University Commission recommended the raising of the college fees, the discontinuance of the affiliation of colleges which do not teach the full graduate course, the introduction of a system of college inspection, and of more stringest affiliation rules for the future. (5) A Director-General of Education was appointed to ensure that the Education Policy of each Local Government should be animated "by community of principle and of aim." He has now been replaced by a Member of the Viceroy's Council in special charge of education. He passed an Act for the protection of Ancient Monuments.

D. **Trade Policy**—He understood that one reason why famines bear so hard upon the population is that agriculture is the one great industry in India. For this reason he welcomed the investment of capital in various sorts of non-agricultural enterprises, he improved the means of railway communication with the coal-mining areas, he subsidised schemes for the application of modern science to the needs of the tea and indigo plantations.

He held the Delhi Durbar Exhibition of Indian Art, and he appointed a member of Council for commerce and industry. In 1889 the sovereign was made legal tender in India, the rate of exchange at the Government treasuries being fixed at fifteen rupees to the pound sterling. Since then the fluctuations of the rupee have been confined within very narrow limits, and the benefits to Government and to commerce have been great.

E. **Foreign Policy**—The consideration of his foreign policy divides itself naturally into two heads—the policy of his Government towards foreign nations beyond the Indian borders, and his policy towards the independent and feudatory states of India. (1) He has checked the French attempt to obtain a coaling station at Muscat on the Persian Gulf. (2) He has made a judicious attempt to extend British influence and trade by carrying the Quetta railway as far as Nushki on the Baluchistan border, and protecting the Caravan route from thence to Seistan. (3) He visited the Persian Gulf in 1903--04 with an imposing naval force in order to revive and strengthen the friendly disposition of the inhabitants of the territories boarding on the Gulf towards the English. (4) The Tibetan Expedition in 1904 was necessitated by the neglect of the Tibetans to carry out the obligations of the Treaty of 1890. The expedition dictated terms of peace in Lhasa, and as a security, the British occupied the Chumbi valley till the indemnity was paid.

F. **The Partition of Bengal**—By the partition which came into force on the 16th of October, 1904, the Bengal Commissioners' Divisions of Chittagong, Dacca, and Rajshahi (with the exception of Darjeeling), the district of Maldah, and Assam, were formed into a new Province called "Eastern Bengal and Assam," with a Lieutenant-Governor over it. "The reason that actuated the Government of India in making this change was that the old Province of Bengal was too large a charge to be efficiently administered by one Lieutenant-Governor." (Prothero). However it was set aside by His Majesty King-Emperor George V to the great rejoicings of the Indian nation, whose feelings were very much roused by the Partition.

G. **His Resignation**—His term of office was extended in 1904, but he resigned at the end of 1905 over a controversy which arose about the representation of the army in the Council. Hitherto it had been the duty of the Military Member to bring all army business before the Government though the Commander-in-Chief was an extraordinary member of the Viceroy's Council. Lord Kitchener wished that the Commander-in-Chief should himself represent the army. His views were adopted by the Secretary of State with some modifications. As Lord Curzon could not acquiesce in the new arrangement, he resigned in 1905.

2. Lord Minto II (1905—1910).

A. **The Popular Unrest**—Lord Minto reaped what Lord Curzon had sown. During his administration there was wide-spread popular unrest. Among other manifestations of popular discontent there was an anarchistic display of bomb-throwing, secret societies were formed, and the newspapers filled their columns with inflammatory articles. Hence the new viceroy had a very arduous work before him. To suppress the popular dis. content and unrest, he had recourse to several repressive measures. By virtue of an old Act of 1818, political agitators were deported without assigning any reason. New acts such as an Explosives Act, a Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and a Criminal Law Amendment Act, were passed.

B. **The Minto-Morley Reforms**—At the same time to win over the more peaceably inclined persons, Minto had recourse to several conciliatory measures, expecially the Minto-Morley reforms. By these a further extension was made to associate Indians with the business of legislation, and the Government formally adopted the principle of elective representation in the matter of representing Indian interests in the Legislative bodies. (For details, see the next Chapter). The Minto-Morley Reforms constitute an important landmark in the history of British administration in India.

3. Lord Hardinge (1910—1916)

A. **The Popular Unrest**—The Indian National Congress, originally started in 1885, aimed at fusing into one national whole the various elements that constitute the population of

India; working at the gradual regeneration, moral, social, and political, of the united nation, and securing greater consolidation of union between the West and the East by the repeal of all measures that were unjust or injurious to the inhabitants of India. In 1907 a split had taken place among the Congressmen, who now formed the two parties known as the Moderates and the Extremists. The Moderates advocated for India a system of self-government which may best be described as Dominion Home Rule. The Extremists were not for constitutional agitation and many of them were imbued with separatist tendencies. The split lasted during the whole of Lord Hardinge's administration. The political activities and agitation begun under Lord Minto continued, ranging from acts of insignificant defiance of the law to the anarchical display of bomb-throwing, of which the Viceroy himself was a victim. This agitation was also extended to Indians in other countries, such as Africa, where, to better the condition of Indians Mr. Gandhi originated the system of passive resistance.

B. The Policy of Conciliation—In order to allay the unrest and discontent a policy of conciliation was followed. In 1911 on the occasion of the visit of King-Emperor George V the partition of Bengal, which had caused so much discontent was revoked, Indian soldiers were placed on the same footing as the other soldiers of the Empire, inasmuch as by bravery on the battle-field they could secure the coveted honour of the Victoria Cross; Delhi was made the capital of India; and finally Government promised an annual grant of fifty lakhs for educational purposes. Shortly after an Indian became the Member for Education in the Imperial Executive Council—Sir C. Sankaran Nair. Schemes were started for the opening of universities at Patna, Dacca, and Rangoon. At Benares a Hindu University was founded.

C. India and the Great European War—In 1914 the Great War broke out, and India helped England with men, money and materials. (1) Men—When the war broke out India had an army of 80,000 British and 170,000 Indian troops. During

the war India recruited no less than 985,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants. Among the combatants 552,000 were sent overseas, and fought on the battle-fields of France, East Africa, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Salonica. Among the non-combatants 391,000 were sent overseas, of whom the greater number belonged to the labour-corps. (2) Money.—The total military expenditure from 1913 to 1919 amounted to over 154 millions sterling. Besides India contributed 98½ crores of rupees by two war-loans. To these sums must be added the munificent gifts of the Indian princes and of Indians of all classes which can hardly be less than £ 5,000,000. (3) Materials—India supplied 1,874 miles of railway track, 5,999 waggons, 237 locomotives and 13,000 feet of girders; 883 steamers and barges, 500 anchor boats and dinghies, and 10,000,000 cubic feet of timber. To these must be added millions of yards of Khaki drill and millions of tons of wheat and other foodstuffs. (*The Indian Year-Book*, 1919).

4. Lord Chelmsford (1916—1921).

A. The Afghan War (1919)—During the Great War the Afghan Amir, Habibullah Khan, in spite of the excitement caused by the preaching of Jehad or holy Islamic War, at the instigation of Turkish, Austrian and German "missions" at Kabul, preserved the Afghan neutrality which he had declared at the outset of the war. But on his murder in January 1919, his successor Amanullah, finding the force of popular excitement, declared war on the English. During the course of the war, the use of aeroplanes, of wireless, and of high explosives, took the Afghans at a disadvantage. The occupation of Dacca and the final destruction of the Afghan fort, Spin Baldak, demoralised the enemy, who sued for peace in less than a month after hostilities had broken out. By the Peace of Rawalpindi, the Afghans were no longer allowed to import arms and ammunition through India into Afghanistan; the arrears of the late Amir's subsidy were suppressed and the present Amir's subsidy was not granted. With the signing of the peace the military operations were merely shifted to another place; tribes of Wazirstan, the Wazirs

and the Mashuds, who had been implicated in the war, continued their raids, and their guerilla warfare is likely to last as long as the tribesmen can find shelter in the fastnesses of their mountains.

B. The Popular Agitation—One of the greatest moral effects of the war was the wonderful awakening of national consciousness throughout the length and breadth of India. India had gallantly played her part in the war, and her sons naturally claimed as their reward the treatment not of a conquered nation, but of an equal partner in the Empire as the self-governing dominions. The Indian National Congress of 1916 put forward this claim, it countenanced the Home Rule Movement, and adopted a scheme of Self-Government, in which the Executive was to be made subordinate to a new legislature. The session of 1919 openly found fault with the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa, with the Hunter Commission, with the repressive policy of Sir Michael O' Dwyer of the Punjab and of the brutal work of General Dyer; and with the Viceroy himself, who, according to the Congress, had entirely forfeited the confidence of the Indian peoples. In 1920 the Congress adopted Mr. Gandhi's Non-co-operation programme.

C. The Policy of Repression—(1) During the war *the Defence of India Act* dealt with the agitators if their actions were liable to disturb the peace of the country or to jeopardise the success of British arms. (2) In order to prevent any fresh outburst of anarchical lawlessness after the war, the Government passed the *Rowlatt Bills*, called after Sir Sydney Rowlatt, the President of the Committee for drafting the bills. The introduction of these bills caused widespread unrest and discontent. (3) Besides these preventive measures, the Government had recourse to *Martial Law* to check disturbances. The application of martial law in the Amritsar and Lahore districts in the Punjab on the occasion of the Punjab disturbances caused widespread indignation.

D. The Policy of Conciliation—If in certain instances Government followed a coercive policy, it did not fail to attempt to win the good will of Indian leaders by its conciliatory attitude. (1) This conciliatory attitude was first manifested by the famous

"Promise of 1917," by which the Government promised to give to the Indians an increasing share in the administration of India, so as to give them little by little self-government. (2) A first step towards the fulfilment of this promise was the drawing up of the scheme of Reforms, known as *Montague-Chelmsford Report*, called after Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India. (3) The second step was the passing of *the Government of India Act* in 1919. The leading features of this Act are the relaxation of the control of the Parliament and of the Secretary of State over the Government of India; the increase of the Indian element in the Imperial Legislative Council and its replacement by two Houses of Legislature—The Council of State (60 members), and the Legislative Assembly (144 members), of whom many are elected; the division of the Provincial Executive into the Governor and his Official Colleagues, entrusted with the "reserved" subjects, and the Indian Ministers in charge of the "transferred" subjects, (the list of the transferred subjects is to be periodically increased till at last complete provincial self-government is fully secured); and finally, the Provincial Legislative Councils are enlarged so as to have a substantial elected majority. (4) Another proof of Government's Concilatory attitude was the appointment of the *Hunter Committee*, to investigate the causes of the Punjab disturbances and the administration of Martial Law. Government made a final attempt to satisfy public opinion by officially accepting the view that the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by misuse of power, by irregularity, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. (5) As the last instances of Government's anxiety to show conciliation may be cited the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to India in 1921 and his appeal to forgive and forget, and the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1922 with the special object of strengthening the bonds of friendship between India and Great Britain.

APPENDIX.

THE AFGHAN AND N.—W. FRONTIER QUESTION

1. The British Relations with the Sikhs.

A. The Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh (1809)—Ranjit Singh, the greatest Sikh chieftain, made Lahore his capital in 1799 and gradually subdued all the territory west of the Sutlej. In 1805 Holkar, then flying before Lord Lake, begged for his aid; but Ranjit Singh, having no wish to quarrel with the British on his account, declined to offer him protection. However, he had long cast covetous eyes on the territory of the Sikh chieftains between the Sutlej and the Jumna, sometimes known as Sirhind. These states had acknowledged the supremacy of the Marattas, and, when Sindia had been driven out by the British, they had informally been taken under the protection of the Company. In 1806 some of the chiefs quarrelling among themselves called in Ranjit Singh, who, eager to extend his influence, crossed the river both in 1806 and in 1807. Some of the chiefs took alarm and applied in 1808 to the British Resident at Delhi for protection, and the Governor-General was called upon for a momentous decision—Was Ranjit Singh to be allowed to advance to the Jumna? When the danger of a French invasion through Persia was over by Napoleon's embarking upon the Peninsular War, the Governor-General took up a bolder attitude, and Ranjit Singh yielded and concluded the treaty, which guaranteed him from molestation west of the Sutlej, provided he confined himself to that bank of the river. The treaty was never broken while he lived, and he became a powerful and friendly ally between the Company's dominions and any possible invasion from the N.—W. Frontier mountains.

B. Sequel to the Treaty—Ranjit Singh gradually subdued the other Sikh chieftains, and made himself master of Peshawar and forced the Afghan Governor to pay him tribute. He had now annexed the Derajat—the long strip of plain country between the Indus and the hills. He had thus welded together a compact kingdom, embracing the Punjab and Kashmir and

running up on the north-west to the base of the Afghan hills. "The conquests of the Sikh chief drew the attention of the Indian government to the north-west". (Roberts). In 1831 Lord William Bentinck met Ranjit Singh and renewed the treaty of alliance.

2. The First Stage of the Afghan Question.

A. Afghanistan—Beyond the north-western frontier of the Sikh dominions lay Afghanistan, a tableland sloping gently from north-east to south-west, intersected by deep ravines and surrounded by steep mountain ranges. It contained three important cities—Kabul in the north-east, Kandahar in the south-east and Herat to the north-east. The political state of Afghanistan had long been one of anarchy. When Nadir Shah's Empire broke up, the rule of Afghanistan passed into the hands of the Durani chieftains. Their hereditary Prime Ministers came from the Barakzai clan. In 1809 the Durani Sovereign, Shah Shuja, was driven from his country and took refuge in the Punjab, his throne being ultimately usurped by Dost Muhmmad, in 1826.

B. Lord Auckland's Afghan Policy—About this time the steady and irresistible advance of the Russians in Central Asia had aroused the fears of the Indian Government. They anticipated that, unless measures were taken to prevent it, both Persia and Afghanistan would speedily fall a prey to the Russians. It was the desire of the British to form a defensive alliance with the two threatened countries against Russia and to preserve them as independent buffer states. Captain Burnes was sent, therefore, on an embassy to Kabul to negotiate a treaty with the Amir. Dost Muhammad naturally sought to get the best terms he could, and, as a part of the price of alliance, he asked the British to assist him to recover Peshawar from Ranjit Singh. "Now Lord Auckland was undoubtedly right in deciding at all hazards to retain the friendship of the Sikh ruler, who was one of the most remarkable characters in Indian history..........It was certainly not worth while to jeopardize that alliance for the support of Dost Muhammad, who, though an able ruler, and, as events were to prove, really desirous of a treaty with the British, was less known to us at the time." (Roberts, p. 314). Thereupon Dost Muhammad dismissed the British envoy and bestowed his favours

on a Russian, who had arrived at his Court. "But the Governor-General and his advisers seem to have conceived a most unreasonable prejudice against this able ruler. They required him in a supercilious despatch to break with Russia, but would not engage to protect him from the result of such an action, promising merely to use their good offices with Ranjit Singh for the restoration of Peshawar." (Roberts, p. 315). Then Lord Auckland took the fatal plunge. He hoped to depose Dost Muhammad with the help of Ranjit Singh. "In this he acted without consulting his Council against the advice of his Commander-in-Chief, and in opposition to the Board of Directors. The ministry in England must share the blame, for a letter from Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, approving of the policy, crosssed the despatch of the Governor-General announcing its adoption." (Roberts). Lord Auckland decided upon war. His plan was to carry the fugitive Shah Shuja of Kabul and there set him again on his throne by the combined might of the Sikh and British armies. A tripartite agreement was entered into by Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and the Company in June, 1838. Auckland's first idea was to make a demonstration in force at Shikarpur, while Shah Shuja was replaced on his throne by his own adherents and his Sikh allies. However, it was soon ascertained that unless he received more effective help he would never be restored at all, and Lord Auckland committed himself to an invasion of Afghanistan.

C. **Criticism of this Policy**—The objections to this policy were in truth overwhelming. (1) It was *morally* unjustifiable. However much it might be opposed to British interests, Dost Muhammad had a perfect right as an independent sovereign to ally himself with Persia or Russia. It was politically independent, for Dost Muhammad was an able ruler and had won the rarely yielded allegiance of his Afghan subjects. (2) It was moreover *impolitic*. Though Shah Shuja was by no means lacking in capacity, his career had been one long failure. He was distrusted and disliked in Afghanistan, and his cause never aroused one spark of enthusiasm. It was proposed by an amazing perverseness to make him ruler over a fanatical Muhammadan people

by the aid of Hindu Sikhs, between whom and his future subjects there had raged, only five years before, a *jehad* or holy war. (3) It was *against the opinion of experts.* Every one whose judgment was worth anything condemned the policy. Bentinck, Elphinstone, Wellesley were unanimous against it, and the Duke of Wellington in prophetic words declared that the consequence of crossing the Indus to settle a Government in Afghanistan would be 'a perennial march into that country.' (4) It was a *political miscalculation.* Even such poor excuse as the framers of the policy originally had was swept away by the course of events before they had finally committed to it. The Russian Government, under pressure from London, disowned and recalled its agents. Their emissary at Kabul returned to St. Petersburg. The Shah of Persia, alarmed at a British expedition to Karrack in the Persian Gulf, raised the siege of Herat in September 1838, and withdrew to his own country. The danger from Russian intrigues had thus completely passed away, and a golden bridge was built for a retreat from an untenable position. But the Governor-General and his supporters were now infatuated with their scheme. (Roberts).

3. The Second Stage of the Afghan Question.

A. The North-West Frontier—The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 had extended the British frontier up to the base of the Afghan mountains, but the boundary line was very variable and ill defined. From Baluchistan in the south to Chitral in the north there was, and to some extent still is, a zone of territory occupied by independent Pathan tribes, through which run the passes from Afghanistan. Down to 1893 these tribes nominally owned the sovereignty of the Amir of Afghanistan, though in reality they were almost completely out of his control. They were fierce, turbulent, and treacherous, always ready for plundering expeditions and raids over the frontier and a constant source of embarassment to the government of the Punjab. Punitive expeditions had been sent to chastise the tribesmen, and owing to the good fighting qualities of the enemy and the mountainous nature of their country, large forces had to be employed. In 1863 an army of 6,000 was employed against the Wahabis, and in 1868 a force of 12,000 had to be despatched to read the Pathans of the Black Mountains a lesson.

B. Lord Lawrence's Policy—Different schools of frontier defence were formed from time to time. (1) The most extreme in one direction, though practically of the little account, advocated a retirement to the line of the Indus. (2) The supporters of the opposing view, who were somewhat loosely known as the "Forward School,' favoured the subjugation of the tribal zone and a scientific frontier conterminous with the Afghan boundary line, (3) The more extreme members of this party did not shrink from advocating the partition of Afghanistan, should a favourable opportunity be offered, or even its complete conquest. (4) Lawrence's policy was to leave the tribes their independence and endeavour to win their esteem; in relation to Afghanistan he advocated 'friendship towards the actual rulers combined with rigid abstention from interference in domestic feuds'. "There can be little doubt that on the whole his policy was wise and provident. It acted well, with such slight modifications as the course of events required, till 1878. Lord Lytton's reversal of it proved disastrous in every way, and after 1881 we practically returned to it till 1919, for although we guaranteed the inviolability of Afghanistan as a buffer State, we scrupulously abstained from all interference in Afghan internal affairs.". (Roberts).

C. Lawrence's Relations with Afghanistan—Dost Muhammad died in 1863, and his favourite son, Sher Ali, ascended the throne. The succession was disputed by his two elder brothers, Afzal Khan and Azim Khan. After some reverses, they got the upper hand, and drove Sher Ali from Kabul to Kandahar, and Afzal Khan was proclaimed Amir in 1866. Sher Ali sought for help and recognition as the rightful ruler from the Indian Government. But it had bitter experience of the folly of interfering in the Afghan disputes. While the authorities, both in England and in India, were firmly resolved to keep the Russians out of Afghanistan and were willing to support any Amir against the Czar, they wished the Afghan chiefs to settle among themselves who should be their leader. Lord Lawrence followed what has been described as a policy of "masterly inactivity". He told both Sher Ali and Afzal Khan

that he was sorry to observe the ruinous feud in the Barakzai house; that the Government of India could only recognise the actual or *de facto* Amir, whoever he might be; and that he was prepared to recognise Afzal Khan as ruler of Kabul and Sher Ali as ruler of Kandahar. This policy was far from pleasing Sher Ali, to whom it naturally appeared to be cold and calculating. (Thompson). As soon as Sher Ali in 1868 had firmly established his power, Lawrence made him a present of arms and £ 60,000 in money, but he frowned on the suggestion that he should commit himself further. Sir Henry Rawlinson, when member of the Secretary of State's Council, penned a famous minute dated July 20, 1868, in which he advised a more forward policy, though one that was still moderate compared with later developments. He advocated the occupation of Quetta in northern Baluchistan commanding the Bolan Pass, a close alliance with the Amir of Afghanistan, and the grant to him of an annual subsidy. To these suggestions Lawrence was altogether opposed, and he was supported by the ablest of his advisers in India. Apart from the fact that there was a direct conflict of military opinion as to whether the Bolan Pass could best be defended from the western or eastern end, Lawrence was convinced that any interference in Afghan affairs would lead to a rupture and he nad no belief in the policy of checking Russia on the Oxus by quarrelling with Sher Ali. "He declared it would be impolitic and unwise to lessen the difficulties of Russia, if she seriously thought of invading India, by meeting her half-way in a country notoriously unsuited to military operations and in the midst of a hostile or exasperated population. He believed our real security to lie in abstinence from entanglements in Afghanistan, in a compact and highly disciplined army stationed on our own border, in a careful management of our finances. Elsewhere he said truly enough that the first invaders of Afghanistan, whether British or Russian, would be received as foes, while the next would be hailed as friends and deliverers". It should be obvious from all this that Lawrence was very unfairly charged with neglecting the Russo-Afghan problem. His 'inactivity' whether 'masterly' or not, was reasoned and

deliberate. Few now doubt thought that he was right. His policy, with such modifications as changing circumstances required, was accepted by Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, and five successive Secretaries of State. All the misfortunes and disasters which Lawrence prophesied were fulfilled almost to the letter, when Lord Salisbury and Lord Lytton in an evil hour for their reputation, decided to reverse it. (Roberts).

4. Continuation of Lord Lawrence's Policy.

A. **Lord Mayo and the Amir**—(*a*) *Policy at Ambala*—Lord Mayo unreservedly adopted Lord Lawrence's Afghan Policy. The Amir met the Viceroy at Ambala and wished to obtain from the Government of India a treaty which would have committed it to support him against all rivals, while he, on his part, promised to act as a faithful ally against the enemies of the British. This was farther than Mayo was prepared to go, and the two separated without any formal agreement being concluded. However Sher Ali was sent away on the whole contented, and obviously much impressed by the pomp and pageantry of the Durbar and the military resources of the British power. He, moreover, made some earnest, though occasionally misguided, attempts to carry out certain reforms suggested to him by Lord Mayo. (*b*) *The Russian Border*—Attempts were now made to fix a definite border line between the sphere of Russian influence and the British influence in Central Asia. Negotiations were entered into between the British Foreign Secretary and the Russian Government which ultimately came to an agreement. The result was that Russia agreed to acknowledge Sher Ali's sway south of the Oxus over his father's former possessions, provided that he respected the integrity of Bokhara north of that river. "The understanding with Russia as to the integrity of Afghanistan was a most important step forward in Central Asian politics, and, had it not been for later European complications, a difficult and dangerous question might have been finally settled". (Roberts).

B. **Lord Northbrook and the Amir**—Lord Northbrook was in favour of coming to a clear understanding with the Russian Government in Europe; and he conveyed to the Amir the

assurance received from St. Petersburg that there was no intention of invading or annexing his country. He was strongly opposed to the plan of Lord Salisbury, who was then at the India Office in London, of sending a British Resident to Kabul. Thus Lord Mayo and Lord Northbrook followed Lord Lawrence's policy of "masterly inactivity," from which Lord Lytton departed.

5. Third Stage of the Afghan Question—Lord Lytton.

A. Lord Lytton's Policy—With the replacement of the ministry of Gladstone by that of Disraeli in 1876, there was a striking change in the personality of men themselves or the ideas they represented. "A strictly unaggressive attitude, non-interference carried perhaps to an extreme, and marked consideration for Afghan susceptibilities were replaced by a spirited foreign policy, imperialistic aims and a subtle and provocative diplomacy. Under the guidance of the new Governments in England and India we drifted within three years into the second Afghan war, which to some extent in its inception, and still more in its course and conclusion, strangely recalled the disastrous campaigns of forty years before." (Roberts). Lord Lytton brought out instructions for 'a more definite, equilateral and practical alliance' with Sher Ali, and he was empowered to offer the Amir most of the terms he had asked for in 1873, namely, a fixed and augmented subsidy, a recognition of his younger son, Abdulla Jan, as heir to the throne of Afghanistan, and a definite pledge 'by treaty or otherwise' of British support in case of foreign aggression. Unfortunately these terms were only to be granted if Sher Ali allowed a British Resident to be stationed at Herat. "The stipulation was reasonable enough as a preliminary condition to a defensive alliance, but if Sher Ali chose to do without such an alliance we had no right to force a mission upon him or make his refusal to receive one a *casus belli*." (Roberts).

B. Lord Lytton's Relations with Afghanistan—(*a*) Sher Ali was first asked to receive a complimentary mission, which was formally to announce to him the assumption by the Queen of the title "Empress of India." This he politely declined on the ground that it was unnecessary. (Roberts, p. 433). Lord

Lytton maintained that the reply of the Amir was couched in terms of 'contemptuous disregard' of British interests, and he warned him that "he was isolating Afghanistan from the alliance and support of the British Government." In October Lord Lytton had an interview with the British Muhammadan Agent from Kabul at Simla, but the meeting did not do much to improve matters. (*b*) Sher Ali who had already been long dissatisfied with the aloofness of the Indian Government, was aggrieved by its acquisition of Quetta in 1876, which was a strategical position of great natural strength, with a climate peculiarly suited to Europeans, commanding the Bolan Pass, one of the gates of Afghanistan. The Amir naturally looked upon the occupation of it as a preliminary step to a British advance upon Kandahar, and he had not forgotten that Quetta was the base of operations in the previous war with Afghanistan. (See Map, Roberts, p. 430). (*c*) In 1877 a conference was held at Peshawar, but without results, because the Afghan envoy steadily refused to concede the point that a British Officer should reside in Afghanistan. (Read Roberts, pp. 434—35). Lord Lytton gave up the old Lawrence policy based upon a generous recognition of rights of small and weak states, and the school of Lytton and his followers relied upon a cynical doctrine of political expediency. (*d*) *Events leading to the Second Afghan War*—(1) The Russian Government forced Sher Ali to receive a mission. It was in a position to put pressure upon the Amir from the fact that his nephew Abdur Rahman had long been a pensioner on their bounty. A significant hint was conveyed to Sher Ali that a dangerous rival to his throne might be put forward, if he proved obstinate. Sher Ali reluctantly yielded, and after his downfall papers were found at Kabul which showed that he now entered into a definite treaty with Russia for perpetual friendship and alliance between the two countries. (2) On hearing of the Russian mission in Kabul, Lord Lytton, after cabling for, and receiving, permission of the Home Government, determined to insist that Sher Ali should in like manner receive a British envoy on the ground that the only alternative would be a 'continued policy of complete inaction, difficult to maintain

and very injurious to our position in India.' Sher Ali was to be required to enter into no negotiations with other States without permission, to concede the right of the Indian Government to send British Officers to Kabul for a conference with him whenever it saw adequate occasion, and to allow a parmanent British Agent to reside at Herat. *Criticism*—"This whole procedure was a calamitous mistake. It was plain that Russia and not Afghanistan was responsible for the entry of the mission into Kabul, and it was she, if any one, as Lord Lawrence argued, who ought to have been called to account. After the signature of the treaty of Berlin, the continued residence of Stoletoff in the Afghan capital could reasonably be regarded as an unfriendly act, and the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg should have been instructed to demand his recall. There is no doubt that the request would have been promptly granted, for, even as it was, Stoletoff at once left Kabul when he heard that the British intended to send a mission. Russia's action was solely designed as a counter-stroke to British policy in Europe, which had thwarted her in the hour of triumph. A golden bridge for a retreat from an untenable position was built by Stoletoff's retirement. The right course for the Viceroy was to assume that Sher Ali, as indeed he did, welcomed the Russians' withdrawal, and attempt to win him back to friendship." (Roberts). (3) A Muhammadan envoy was despatched to Kabul on August 30, to announce the approach of the British mission. But an Afghan Officer intimated to the leader Major Cavagnari that he could not allow him to proceed without orders from the Amir. Lord Lytton declared that the mission had been 'forcibly repulsed'—a statement obviously at variance with the facts—and eagerly pressed the Home Government to sanction a declaration of war. (4) The Cabinet imposed a few weeks' delay, and according to their requirements an ultimatum was sent on November 2, demanding from the Amir, if he wished to avoid the calamities of an invasion, a 'full and suitable apology' and his consent to a permanent British mission in Afghanistan. Hostilities were to commence, unless an answer were received by Novembe r 0. A belated reply reached the Vicroy on November 30, dated

November 19, which, though it announced Sher Ali's acceptance of the mission, was declared to be inadequate as containing no apology. By that time moreover the war had begun, for Lord Lytton had set his forces in motion the day after the ultimatum expired. (Roberts, p. 441, for the opposition of Gladstone).

6. Fourth Stage of the Afghan Question (1880-1919).

A. The Settlement of the Afghan Question in 1880— It was finally decided on Lord Lytton's advice that western Afghanistan should be permanently severed from the rest of the country; the province of Kandahar was detached from Kabul and handed over to an independent Chief, Sher Ali Khan, to whom the Indian Government pledged itself to give military support in case of need. Abdur Rahman was recognised as Amir of Kabul. *Criticism*—"This policy was described at the time as the greatest leap in the dark on record, and must indeed have seemed exceedingly hazardous, but it was fully justified by success." Abdul Rahman was one of the greatest Asiatics of his time, a man at once of penetrating shrewdness and of far-reaching vision. In his eleven years of brooding solitude as a pensionary upon Russian bounty, he had fathomed the political ideals and methods of his patrons, though he was always personally grateful to them for affording him an asylum in his exile. With remarkable insight he recognized that Great Britain, in spite of her dubious record in the past towards his country, was likely to be the truer friend to Afghan independence. "Considering the universal detestation felt for us at the time and long afterwards by the Afghan people, Abdur Rahman's success in raising himself to the throne by our connivance and gradually winning over his subjects to acquiesce in our alliance and protection is one of the most remarkable political feats in modern Asian history." (Roberts, p. 447).

B. Lord Dufferin and Afghanistan—In 1885 while a Boundary Commission was engaged in delineating the territories of Afghanistan and Asiatic Russia, a collision took place between the Russian and Afghan troops, in the Panjdeh district a hundred miles due south of Merv where Murghab and Kushk

rivers unite their waters. It almost led to a war between England and Russia, but "the disastrous issue of war was averted by the labours of diplomatists, the tact of Lord Dufferin and, above all, by the shrewd common sense of Abdur Rahman." The Amir consented to waive his claims to the district in exchange for Zulfikar, which lay about eighty-five miles to the west, Finally, after prolonged negotiations between Kabul, Simla. London and St. Petersburg, the line of demarcation was settled by a protocol signed at St. Petersburg in July 1887. *Criticism*—"What had been accomplished was of very considerable importance. The settlement of the frontier up to the line of the Oxus put definite limits to the Russian advance in the direction of Herat, which strategists have agreed to look upon, though why is not quite clear, as the key of India." (Roberts). Sir Alfred Lyall says, "The boundary pillars now set up by the British and Russian officers on the Hindu Kush and by the Oxus record the first deliberate and practical attempts made by the two European powers to stave off the contact of their incessantly expanding Asiatic Empires."

C. **Lansdowne's Afghan Policy**—In Lord Lansdowne's time a good deal of work was done in extending and defining British Protectorates. In fact, till the closing years of Lord Lansdowne's period of office there was a marked estrangement between the Afghan and Indian Governments. due to the changed course of British foreign policy. There was a belt of tribal territory, about 25,000 square miles in extent, between the British frontier and the Afghan boundary line. The tribes nominally owed allegiance to the Amir, who was very jealous of any interference with them, valuing their interposition as a screen between his country and the British lines. They were always ready on the least encouragement to harry British trade routes and to raid across the frontier; while the Afghan Government could always remain discreetly in the background, pleading a regretful incapacity to restrain their turbulent feudatories. The 'Forward School' had long clamoured for the extension of strategic railways, the definite settlement of an Afghan-British frontier, and the reduction to order of the whole tribal territory,

The arguments against this proposal were the heavy cost which would be involved, the great extent of country to be subdued, and, most important of all, the certainty of permanently estranging Abdur Rahman. After prolonged negotiations, Sir Mortimer Durand was sent as an envoy to Kabul in 1893. This mission resulted in a new arrangement with the Amir. The annual subsidy paid to the Amir was raised to eighteen lakhs. The Amir recognised the right of the Indian Government to control his foreign relations and consented to a border zone between India and Afghanistan being delineated by British Officers, over which their Government was to have suzerainty. Further the Amir accepted an invitation to go to England, but was ultimately prevented by illness from carrying out his intention. His second son, Nasrullah Khan, was sent to represent him in 1895, but his visit proved a failure; Abdur Rahman was disappointed that his request to have a representative at the Court of St. James was not granted. Abdur Rahman died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son, Habib-ulla.

D. Lord Curzon's Frontier Policy—See *ante*, p. 348).

E. Lord Minto and Afghanistan—One of the most noteworthy achievements of Lord Minto's Viceroyalty was the threefold convention between Great Britain and Russia concluded in 1907, relating to Tibet, Afghanistan and Persia, wihich settled by peaceful diplomacy three long outstanding questions of Asian politics. The Anglo-Russion Convention of 1907, so far as it affected Afghanistan, did little more than recognize the *status quo*, by which Russia definitely acknowledged that Afghanistan lay outside her sphere of influence, agreed to act in all political relations with Amir only through the British Government, and to send no agents to that country. England renewed its assurance that it has no intention of entering into or annexing the Amir's territories.

F. Lord Chelmsford and the Afghan War (1919)—(See page 353 above).

CHAPTER III. THE GROWTH OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN ADMINISTRATION (1833—1921).

[Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science* Ch. XXII—XXIII; J. H. Gense, S. J., *Indian History* (1525—1920).]

1. The New Policy of the British in India.

A. Lord William Bentinck's Policy—During the Governor-Generalship of Sir William Bentinck, the Liberal statesman, the Charter Act of 1833 had laid down the famous principle that "no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of his Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour." In accordance with his liberal principles and the Charter Act, he favoured the large employment of Indians in positions of responsibility. "Lord William Bentinck, filled with the spirit which carried the British Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, was the first of the modern Governors-General; and deserves credit for the clear vision which enabled him to construct for the first time a really workable, efficient framework of administration, offering to the natives of the country reasonable opportunities for the exercise of their abilities, and capable of the expansion still in progress". (Smith).

B. Queen Victoria's Policy—The benevolent and sympathetic policy thus inaugurated by the Charter Act of 1833 found its reiteration in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 after the Great Indian Mutiny, in the wholesome provisions that all Indians were to be promised the same rights and that appointments to public offices were to be made according to the qualifications of the candidates. These promises and principles were carried out during that half century of liberal government from 1861 to 1921, during which we see several landmarks in the history of the development of representative institutions in India.

2. Administrative Changes (1833—1919).

A. The Charter Act of 1833—The Act constituted a fourth Presidency of Agra, which was in 1835 reduced to the lieutenant-governorship of the North-West Provinces. It conferred

on the government of India the power of passing Acts instead of Regulations, added a fourth (Law) Member to the Council of the Governor-General, gave the head of the supreme government for the first time the title of "Governor-General of India", instead of Governor-General of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and definitely and finally subordinated the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras to his control.

B. The Charter Act of 1853—It sanctioned the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors to the Provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. The Law Member of the Supreme Council was placed on the same footing as the other members, and thus became a fourth Ordinary Member, The Council was enlarged for legislative purposes to twelve members, all of whom were officials, namely the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, the four ordinary members of the Executive Council, two Judges, and four representative members nominated by the Government of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces. Their proceedings, however, were made public.

C. The Act for the Better Government of India, 1858—(See, *ante*, p. 341).

D. The India Councils Act of 1861—It completed the change by adding a fifth member, the member for Public Works, to the Executive Council, and by adding to the Legislative Council not less than six or not more than twelve additional members, at least one-half non-official, to be nominated by the Governor-General. Legislative Councils were also established in the other provinces and Lieutenant-Governorships.

E. The Proclamation of King-Emperor at Delhi in 1911—Among other favours granted to the Indians, in the matter of administrative concessions, shortly after the Proclamation an Indian became the Member for Education in the Imperial Executive Cnuucil.

F. The Government of India Act, 1919—By this Act, the control by Parliament of the Secretary of State for India was slightly relaxed; the Indian element was increased in the Imperial Executive Council; the Imperial Legislative Council was

replaced by two Legislative Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, many of the members being elected: the Provincial Executive was divided into the Governor and his official Colleagues entrusted with the "reserved" subjects; and the Indian Ministers in charge of the "transferred" subjects; and the Provincial Legislative Council was enlarged, and was to consist of a substantial elected majority.

3. Development of Representative Institutions.

A. The Principle of Representation by Nomination— The India Councils Act of 1861—By this Act under Lord Canning the first seeds of representative institutions were sown by adopting a system of administrative decentralisation and by associating Indians in the business of legislation. Accordingly Provincial Legislatures were established under the supreme authority of the Governor-General. To the Imperial Legislative Council, which, according to the Act of 1853, consisted of twelve members who were all officials, were added new members, not less than six and not more than twelve, of whom at least one-half were non-officials, nominated by the Governor-General. Thus the Government said, "Let us hear what a few Indians *of our choice* have to say about our laws." A few Indians were admitted also to Provincial Legislative Councils with the express purpose of voicing Indian opinion. These new additional members usually included some Indians of standing, and some representatives of the mercantile community. Criticism—"There is nothing elective or democratic about the system: the Members of Council are *nominated* from above. It rests on the theory of government by experts, which has its disadvantages, but also has merits which are perhaps less obvious or less readily recognised, from the prevalent theory in England that experience connected with any given department probably makes a man unfit for supreme control of it. It is not clear however that as a mere matter of efficiency the Indian system is not on the whole the more successful." (Innes). This Act of 1861 is noteworthy as being the first movement towards the Government of India through representatives of her peoples.

B. The Principle of Representation by Election— (1) Lord Ripon's Scheme of Local Self-Government—He passed a series of Acts in 1883-85 and introduced the scheme of local self-government, based on the creation of District Boards and subordinate bodies. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other large towns had long enjoyed the privilege of municipal institutons. But during Ripon's administration the power of municipal bodies, municipal resources and financial responsibilities were considerably increased. The Government of India intimated that the chairman of a municipality should be a non-official, whenever possible. He also established Local Boards which dealt with rival areas, much in the same way as the Municipality deals with the town affairs; and therefore they may be correctly described as an extension of the municipality to rural districts. These bodies served the useful purpose of associating Indians with the work of local administration, and thus caused all over the country a general awakening of interest in public affairs. (2) The India Councils Act of 1892, under Lord Landsdowne, took a further step in the direction of associating Indians in the legislative work. The Government said, "Let us hear what a few Indians *chosen by the Indians themselves* have to say about our laws." Accordingly, the various Legislative Councils were enlarged, enabling some of the non-officials to be *elected* by recognised bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce, Universities, Landlords and Municipalities. The Act gave the members the right to put questions to Government on matters of administration and also to discuss the budget. (3) The Minto-Morley Reforms, 1909—By these a further extension was made to associate Indians with the business of legislation; and the Government formally adopted the principle of elective representation. The Imperial Legislative Council was enlarged, and now consisted of the members of the Imperial Executive Council and of 60 additional members of whom 27 were to be elected. Similarly the Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged to a maximum of 50 additional members, and Government faced the risk of abandoning the official majority in the provincial councils. The Minto-Morley Reforms consistute therefore an important landmark in the history of Indian administration. (4) The Government of India Act of 1919—This is the

next, and so far the last step, in allowing the people of India a share in the government of the country. As a result of the famous promise of 1917 and of the Montague-Chelmsford Report, the Act was passed in 1919 by which the elective principle was carried further on. The Imperial Legislative Council was replaced by two Legislative Houses—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, many of the members being elected; and the Provincial Legislative Councils were also enlarged and consist of a substantial elected majority. (For details. see the Section 4 below.)

4. Indian Administration in 1921—I. The Central Government.

A. The Home Government—The Central or Imperial Government of India is divided into the Imperial Government *out of India* or the "Home Government," and the Imperial Government *in India*. The Home Government consists of the King and the two Houses of Parliament; the Secretary of State for India, and the India Council. (1) The King and the two Houses of Parliament are vested with supreme executive and legislative power, but in practice the British Parliament only supervises the Government of India. (2) The Secretary of State for India practically rules India on behalf of the British Parliament. He is a Cabinet Minister, has to give a yearly report to Parliament, and has to answer questions of individual members. The Viceroy is obliged to follow his instructions, and the Government of India cannot declare war without his sanction. The appointment of many of the high officials rests with him. (3) The India Council assists the Secretary of State with its advice. Except in money matters the Secretary of State is not bound to follow this advice. Yet the India Council is a very influential body. It now consists of not less than 8 and not more than 12 members, 3 of whom are Indians. Half of the members must have lived in India for at least 10 years, and at the time of their appointment must not have been away from India more than 5 years. The establishment in London of the Secretary of State and of the India Council is called the "India Office." (4) Besides these, there is also the High Commissioner for India, who does the agency work for India, such as borrowing money, purchasing stores, and making contracts.

B. The Imperial Government in India—This consists of the Viceroy, the Executive Council, and the two Houses of Legislature: the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. (1) The Viceroy rules India according to the instructions of the Secretary of State. He is supreme over all Governors and Officials in India; no law can be passed without his sanction; he has full power in dealing with the Native States; and like the King he can commute sentences passed by courts of law. (2) The Executive Council helps the Viceroy to administer India. The work of administration is divided among the members departmentally. The Viceroy looks after foreign affairs; the Commander-in-Chief is responsible for military affairs; the Law Member looks after matters connected with law, justice and internal police, and sees also to the drafting of laws; the Public Works Member looks after the collection of taxes, agriculture, and public works; the Finance Member is responsible for the accounts. Besides these, there are two other Members, one in charge of the commercial interests of the country, and the other in charge of education. The Viceroy and his Executive Councillors are known as the Governor-General in Council. There are three Indians in the Executive Council. (3) The Council of State is the Upper Legislative House, and is entrusted with the framing of laws affecting India as a whole on "central" subjects. It consists of 60 members, of whom 33 are elected by voters who are British subjects, 21 years of age, and paying a land assessment of Rs. 2000 a year or an income-tax on an income of Rs. 30,000 a year; Presidents and Vice-Presidents of Municipalities; Fellows of Universities, and owners of a whole village have also a vote. (4) The Legislative Assembly is the Lower Legislative House entrusted with the framing of laws affecting India as a whole on certain subjects. It consists of 144 members, of whom 103 are elected by voters, who are British subjects, 20 years of age, and paying a land revenue of Rs. 75 a year, or an income-tax.

5. Indian Administration in 1921-II. Local Government.

A. The Local or Provincial Government—The Local Government is not the same for the 13 provinces into which

India is divided. In eight provinces—Bombay, Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Central Provinces, the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam—the Chief Provincial rulers are the Governor, the Provincial Executive, and Legislative Council. Other subordinate provincial rulers are the Commissioner, the Collector and the Sub-Divisional Officer. (1) The Governor is at the head of the Provincial administration; he is appointed for 5 years, and is responsible to the Viceroy, whose instructions he has to follow; the Commissioners and Collectors are under his direct control. (2) The Provincial Executive consists of two sections—the Governor and his Official Colleagues or the Governor in Council, and the Indian Ministers. The Governor and his official colleagues are entrusted with that part of provincial administration which is called the reserved subjects, such as irrigation, land-revenue, etc., whilst the Indian Ministers are entursted with that part of provincial administration which is called the transferred subjects, such as education, sanitation, etc., This division of the Provincial Executive into two sections is called "Dyarchy," which has gradually to disappear; for if the scheme of reforms works satisfactorily, the list of transferred subjects is to be periodically increased, till at last complete provincial self-government is attained. (3) The Provincial Legislative Council, of whose members 70 per cent. are elected by British subjects of 20 years of age, and paying or receiving an annual house-rent of Rs. 36, or paying an income-tax. The number of the members varies according to the provinces. The Council's power does not extend to imperial and provincial reserved subjects. Further, if the Governor certifies that a bill is essential to the good of the province, the Council cannot reject the bill, though they may discuss it and propose amendments approved of by Government; niether can they pass a bill which the Governor certifies incompatible with the good of the province. The Council has also the power to discuss the provincial budget, which will be altered according to its resolutions, except in the case of reserved subjects when the Governor certifies that the allotment is necessary. Every bill must be sanctioned by the Governor of the province and by the Governor-General.

B. The Subordinate Provincial Rulers—(1) *The Commissioner* is at the head of a division of a province, consisting of several districts. He supervises the work of collectors, and gives them instructions about the administration of the districts. He is responsible to the Governor, to whom he has to report and whose instructions he has to follow. (2) *The Collector* is at the head of a district; he looks after the details of administration; and as he is constantly in touch with the people, his office is most important. He is responsible for collection of land-revenue and other taxes, for the keeping of land records and of registers, for the administration of criminal justice, education and forests. He is assisted by a District Board; its members are partly elected and partly appointed, and give him advice and information about what takes place in the District. (3) *The Sub-Divisional Officer* is at the head of a sub-division of a district or Taluk. His duties are similar to those of the Collector, to whom he has to report, and whose instructions he has to follow. He is assisted by a Taluk Board of members partly elected and partly nominated, and gives him advice and information about what takes place in the Taluk.

C. The Government of the other Provinces—(1) The Province of Delhi and the N.-W. Frontier Provinces are administered by a Chief-Commissioner without a Council, practically appointed by the Governor-General, and under his direct control. (2) British Baluchistan and Ajmer-Merwara are administered by an Agent to the Governor-General, practically appointed by the Governor-General, and under his direct control. (3) Coorg is administered by the Resident of Mysore as Chief Commissioner. (4) The Andamans are administered by the Superintendent of the Penal Settlements of Port Blair.

6. Indian Administration-III. Local Self-Government.

A. Meaning of Local Self-Government— Besides these various administrative activities of the governing and ruling bodies, there are others carried on by the people themselves, constituting special administrative bodies of their own according to the principles of Local Self-Government. By this is meant a

special form of administration prevalent in towns and rural areas, according to which local affairs are entrusted to the care of representative bodies, whose members are partly appointed and partly elected from among the people. There are two important forms of this—the Municipality and the Local Boards.

B. **The Municipality**—The Municipality or the Municipal administrative body is composed of a number of leading citizens, partly appointed and partly elected, in order to look after the welfare of the town. They are chiefly entrusted with the carrying out of sanitary arrangements, such as the cleanliness of streets and houses specially in industrial quarters, the superintendence of markets, the erection and building of hospitals, the prevention and combating of infectious diseases. They have also to see to the general comfort of their fellow-townsmen, and among these comforts may be mentioned; an abundant water-supply, the repair of the roads, the lighting of the streets, the providing of cheap and easy means of conveyance. They have also charge of educational establishments known as municipal schools. In order to enable it to carry on all these duties, the Municipality is empowered to levy various kinds of taxes, such as taxes on houses, on water, on carriages, horses and bullocks, on motor-cars and on entertainments. They can also levy taxes on goods imported into the city from without; and finally in order to cover the expenses of improvement schemes, they are also, under certain conditions, entitled to raise loans.

C. **The Local Boards**—The members of the Local Boards, who are partly appointed and partly elected, the non-official element forming by far the majority, are entrusted with practically the same duties with which the Municipality is entrusted in towns. Among their functions may be mentioned the maintenance and improvement of roads, the establishment of schools, the upkeep of dispensaries, and the construction and superintendence of markets. In order to meet the expenses they are empowered to raise certain taxes on houses and lands to derive a certain amount of income from school-fees and dispensaries. They are also subsidised by government contributions.

D. The Village Panchayat—In former times there was prevalent in every village a peculiar form of local administration known as the Panchayat system, in which the affairs of the village were looked after by a headman and by a council of the most influential among the villagers, generally five in number. The headman was helped by various officials, the watchman and accountant being the most important. The headman and the council took charge of the legislative and judicial part of government. They decided on measures for the common good, settled disputes among the villagers, and punished the evildoers. The headman and the officials carried out the executive part of government, which mainly consisted in enforcing the decisions of the Panchayat. That this simple system of village government, when properly carried out, is productive of great advantage, is self-evident. Accordingly in the Montague-Chelmsford Report the attention of the Government was specially directed to the development of the Panchayat system in villages. It was proposed that, if the system could be made to work properly, the modern Panchayat might be endowed with civil and criminal jurisdiction in petty cases, with some administrative powers as regards sanitation, and with permissive power of imposing a local rate. Thus this happy mixture of the best elements of Ancient Indian polity with the best of the Western civilisation will enable modern India to make rapid strides in the progress of Indian administration. Let the statesman in India—British and Indian—shape the destinies of the country following the ideal preached by Kipling—

East is East,
West is West;
East plus West
Is much the Best.

APPENDIX

Madras University Examination Questions

(1913–1923)

PART I. THE HINDU PERIOD.

BOOK I. Preliminary.

(1) Describe briefly the different classes of original authorities now available for the history of India between 500 B. C. and A. D. 1,000, and give an example of each class. (1916)

(2) Mention a few synchronisms that have been of material help in the determination of North Indian Chronology. (1917)

BOOK II. The Rationalistic Age.

(1) Illustrate by a map the political divisions of North India about the time of the death of Buddha. (1913)

(2) Estimate the permanent results to India of its connection with the Persians and the Greeks. (1913)

(3) "The general tendency of European scholars has been to exaggerate the hellenising effects of Alexander's invasion and of the Indo-Greek rule on the North-Western Frontier." (V. A. Smith). Consider the above and form your estimate of the influence on India of this Greek connection. (1917)

(4) Describe the political condition that prevailed in Northern India in the time of Buddha. Whence is our knowledge of the period derived? (1918)

(5) Did Alexander's invasion lead to any marked cultural changes? (1921)

(6) Sketch the political condition of Northern India at the time of the invasion of Alexander the Great. Illustrate with a map. (April 1922)

(7) On what occasions and with what results was India invaded before the tenth century? (Sept. 1922)

BOOK III. The Buddhist Age.

(1) In respect of the Mauryan Empire and the Gupta Empire, compare *first* the circumstances of their rise, and *secondly* the causes of their downfall. (1914)

(2) Estimate the importance of the reign of Pushyamitra in Indian History. (1915)

(3) Write a historical account of the reign of Kanishka, and state what you regard as the period of his reign. (1915)

(4) Compare the Empires of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya and Chandragupta Maurya in respect of extent and organisation. (1915)

(5) Give a short account of the administrative system of the Great Mauryas. (1916)

(6) Form an estimate, from Asoka Maurya's edicts, of his work (1) as an administrator, and (2) as a propagandist. (1917)

(7) Who were the Sakas? What part did they play in Indian History? (1918)

(8) Give an account of the extent of the Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta and of his system of administration. Refer to the principal authorities. (1918)

(9) Give an account of the Empire of Asoka and indicate the chief sources from which the history of his reign is derived. (1919)

(10) Explain and describe the rise of the Maurya Empire. (1921)

(11) Draw a sketch map of Asoka's Empire and describe briefly his system of Government. (1921)

(12) Sketch the history of the Graeco-Bactrian Dominions in India, or give some account of the intercourse between India and the Roman Empire. (1918)

(13) In what degrees did Kanishka succeed in becoming a second Asoka? (April, 1922)

(14) Describe the administrative system of the Mauryan Kings. (Sept. 1921)

(15) Write an account of the municipal administration and the revenue system of the Mauryan empire. (April, 1923)

(16) Give an account of the state of society in the Buddhist Age. In what ways did Buddhism modify Indian life and thought? (Sept. 1923)

BOOK IV. The Puranic Age.

(1) Write a note on the Chinese Pilgrims, and estimate the value of the records of their travels to the student of Indian History. (1914)

(2) Illustrate by a sketch map the political divisions of India about A. D. 630. (1914)

(3) Discribe the causes of the decline and fall of the Gupta Empire. (1916)

(4) Give an account of the Huns in North India, and show how they influenced the course of Indian History. (1917)

(5) To what causes do you ascribe the decay of the Gupta Empire? (1919)

(6) Trace the history of Buddhism in Northern India from the death of Asoka to the time of Harshavardhana. (1919)

(7) What do Chinese travellers tell us of the condition of the Gupta Empire? (1921)

(8) Why has the Gupta period been styled "the Hindu Renaiscance"? (April, 1922)

(9) "The partial unity of Indian histoy vanishes with Harsha and is not restored until about 1,200". Explain. (1922)

(10) Sketch the main lines of the Hindu revival, from the death of Kanishka to the fall of the Gupta empire, as shown in Indian religion, literature, and art. (April, 1923)

(11) What do you know of Chandra Gupta II (Vikramaditya) and of the condition of the people in his time? (Sept. 1923)

(12) Sketch the career of Harsha Vardhana and summarize Yuan Chwang's (Hiuen Tsang) description of his court. (Sept. 1923)

BOOK V. The Rajput Age.

(1) Write a short historical note on the Pallava ascendency in South India. (1913)

(2) Sketch history of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of the Dekhan. (1913)

(3) Account for the decline of Buddhism and the triumph of Hinduism after the death of Harshavardhana. (1914)

(4) Sketch the history of *either* the Paramara dynasty of Malwa, *or* the later Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana. (1914)

(5) Sketch the history of the Pallavas of Kanchi. (1915)

(6) Give an outline history of the Gurjaras in India. (1915)

(7) Sketch the history of *either* (*a*) the Early Chalukyas of the Dekhan (to about A. D. 750), *or* (*b*) the Chola Kingdom between A. D. 985 and 1118. (1916)

(8) Describe the character of the Pallava rule and sketch their history to the close of the eighth century A. D. (1917)

(9) Give an account of the Empire of Rajaraja the Great and his successors during the 11th century A. D. (1918)

(10) Give an account of the principal commercial centres of Southern India to the year 1000 A. D. (1919)

(11) "The Kshatriya or Rajput caste is essentially an occupational caste . . . . consequently people of most diverse races were and are lumped together as Rajputs." Discuss. (1919)

(12) Describe the rise of the Rajput powers. (1921)

(13) Sketch the history of the Pallavas of Kanchi. (April, 1922)

(14) Write a history ot the Chola kingdom, illustrating your answer by a map. (Sept. 1922)

(15) Narrate the history of the Cholas, and describe their administrative system. (April, 1923)

(16) Write a history of the Andhra kingdom. (Sept. 1923)

PART II. THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

BOOK I. The Period of Invasions and Conquests.

(1) Examine the following characterization of the Muhammadan Period.—"The history of the period is necessarily more a chronicle of Kings and Courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. The vast mass of the people enjoy the doubtful happiness of having no history since they have no development". (1914)

(2) Point out the difference in character between the Arab and Turkish invasions of India and account for the difference in their fortunes. (1917)

(3) To what causes do you attribute the success of Muhammad Ghori in his invasions of India? (1918)

(4) Account for the failure of Islam in Sind and its success in the Punjab. (1921)

(5) Give some account of the career of Muhammad Ghori. (April, 1922)

(6) Describe the character and achievement of Mahmud Ghazni, and contrast his Indian policy with that of Muhammad Ghori. (April, 1923)

BOOK II. The Muhammadan Kingdoms of Northern India.

(1) Indicate the chief influences governing the expansion of Muhammadanism in Indian between 1200—1500. (1913)

(2) Illustrate from the North Indian History, the merits and the defects of the Mamluk system of succession. (1913)

(3) By specific reference to the events of his reign and to his administrative measures, examine the claim of Sultan Firuz of the Tuglak dynasty to be regarded as a great and beneficent ruler. (1914)

(4) Examine the influence of the Rajputs upon the growth of the Muhammadan power in India up to A. D. 1530. (1915)

(5) "Alauddin with Firoz Shah must be counted among the great administrators who have ruled in India." (Irvine). Examine this verdict with reference to the administrative work of the two rulers. (1916)

(6) Examine the economic condition of the Delhi Kingdom in the 14th century. (1918)

(7) 'The administration of India has always been in the hands of Hindoos." Examine the truth of this statement for the period 1000—1500 A. D. (1919)

(8) Estimate the character and achievements of Mahommed Bin Tuglak. (1919)

(9) To what causes do you attribute the success of the Muhammadans in establishing their dominion in India? (1920)

(10) Sketch the career of Ulugh Khan Balban, dwelling especially upon the problems with which he had to deal and his methods of dealing with them. (1920)

(11) Who do you consider the ablest of the 'Slave kings'? (1921)

(12) Sketch the history of Northern India during the period between the invasion of Timur and that of Babar. (1921)

(13) Compare the policy adopted towards their Hindu subjects by (*a*) the Sultans of Delhi, and (*b*) the early Mughal Emperors. (April, 1922)

(14) "Muhammad bin Tughlak was a mixture of opposites, as Jehangir was in a later age". Explain this statement. (Sept. 1922)

(15) Trace the decline and fall of the Sultanate of Delhi. (Sept. 1922)

(16) What were the dangers that beset the Delhi empire in the reign of Alauddin Khilji, and what measures did he adopt to meet them? What was the condition of the people under him? (April, 1923)

BOOK III. The Kingdoms of the Deccan.

(1) Trace briefly the course of events that led to the battle of Talikota, and state, in general terms, the political changes that resulted therefrom. (1915)

(2) Sketch the history of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar between 1509 and 1565. (1916)

(3) Account for the comparative immunity of South India from Mahammadan domination. (1917)

(4) Sketch the history of the Bahmani Kingdom and analyse the causes of its break up. (1918)

(5) Write a brief account of the history of Vijayanagar. (1919)

(6) Write an account of the rise of the Vijayanagar empire in the 14th century, illustrating your answer by a map. (Sept. 1922)

Book V. The Mughal Empire.

(1) Point out the principal defects in the imperial system of administration in the 16th and 17th centuries, and their bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire. (1913)

(2) Trace the steps by which Mughal sovereignty was established in the Deccan. (1913)

(3) To what causes would you principally ascribe the decay and disintegration of the Mughal Empire? (1914)

(4) Draw a map of India and mark on it the political divisions in A. D. 1661, explaining the map in a few short note. (1915)

(5) Sketch in outline the relations of the Deccan Musalman Kingdoms and the Mughal Empire. (1915)

(6) Trace the expansion of the Mughal power in the Dekhan. (1917)

(7) How far was Aurangazib responsible for the decline of the Mughal Empire. (1917)

(8) Estimate the permanent results of Akbar's policy towards the Rajputs. (1918)

(9) To what extent did European merchants secure a footing in India during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jehan? Describe the attitude of these rulers towards them. (1918)

(10) Compare Akbar and Aurangazib as statesmen and administrators. (1919)

(11) Trace the history of the Mughal conquest of the Deccan and show how it was facilitated by the jealousies of the Deccan Kingdoms. (1920)

(12) Compare the Afghan power under Bahlol Lodi and Sher Shah. (1921)

(13) What claim has Akbar to be considered the first national Emperor of India? (1921)

(14) Account for Aurangzib's failure to repress the growth of the Maratta power. (1921)

(15) Describe the Mughal system of government under Akbar. (April, 1922)

(16) Describe the part played by the Rajputs in resisting the Muhammadan invaders of the 12th and 16th centuries, illustrating your answer by a map or explaining the strategic importance of their country. (Sept. 1922)

(17) Describe the state of literature and the arts under the Mughals. (Sept. 1922)

(18) Criticise the Deccan policy of the Mughal emperors. (Sept. 1922)

(19) Sketch Akbar's revenue system, and indicate to what parts of India it extended. (April 1923)

(20) Give an account of Akbar's conquests and describe the steps that he took to form a national state in India. (Sept. 1923)

(21) Sketch the character of Aurangzib and criticise his Deccan policy. (Sept. 1923)

PART III. THE BRITISH PERIOD.

Book I. The Hindu Revival.

(1) Explain the importance of the great battle in 1761 in the History of India. (1913)

(2) Compare the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Maratta power in the Dekhan with those of the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjab. (1914)

(3) Discuss how far it can be stated with justice that the English took India from the Marattas and not from the Mughals. (1915)

(4) Give a short account of the civil and military institutions of Sivaji, and show how a 'survey of his institutions will explain . . . . . how he deserved to succeed in his great and by no means selfish enterprise." (1916)

(5) Under what circumstances did the great Hindu revival against Muhammadan rule in Western India take place, and what causes contributed to its success? (1917)

(6) Trace the growth of the Maratta power from the death of Aurangzib to 1761. Illustrate your answer by a map. (1918)

(7) Explain the military and political organization of the Marattas, and show how it facilitated the expansion of their dominions. (1920)

(8) Estimate the importance of the battle of Paniput. (1920)

(9) Account for the Hindu revival in the seventeenth century. (April, 1922)

(10) Describe Sivaji's character and system of government. What was the exteut of his dominions at his death? (April, 1923)

(11) Describe the course of events that led up to the third battle of Panipat, and the effects of that battle. (Sept. 1923)

Book II. The Early European Traders.

(1) Account for the failure of the Portuguese to acquire an extensive dominion in India. (1913)

(2) Account for the failure of the Portuguese to found a great and permanent Empire in India. (1916)

(3) Show how the European situation influenced the fortunes of the Dutch in India during the seventeenth century. (1919)

(4) Describe the extent of the Portuguese power in the East during the time of Albuquerque and account for its rapid decay. (1920)

Book III. The Rise of the British Dominion (1741—1765).

(1) Show the inter-connection of Indian and European politics in the 18th century. (1913)

(2) Illustrate from the history of British power in India in the 18th century the inter-connection between Indian affairs and European politics. (1916)

(3) Discuss the importance of sea-power on the conflict between the English and French in India. (1918)

(4) Discuss the causes of the failure of the French to found an Empire in India. (1919)

(5) Why did the French lose their position in India? (1921)

(6) Illustrate the importance of the sea-power from the history of the French in India. (April, 1922)

(7) Describe the "Double Government" introduced by Clive, and trace its effect upon the people. By what system was it replaced? (April, 1922)

(8) Write an outline of the struggle between the English and the French in Southern India and show how the result was determined by the character of the leaders on the two sides. (Sept. 1923)

Book IV. The Growth of the British Dominion (1765-1805).

(1) Show how the years 1781 and 1800 were critical years in the history of British India. (1914)

(2) Mention the chief administrative measures of Lord Cornwallis, and examine the statement that he is "the first Indian ruler who can be properly regarded as an administrator". (Sir John Kaye) (1914)

(3) State in broad outlines Wellesley's policy towards Native States. Criticise it from the point of view of later developments (1915)

(4) Briefly review Lord Wellesley's policy, and show how its success established "beyond the possibility of future opposition the political and military superiority of the English throughout India." (Lyall). (1916)

(5) State briefly the circumstances that necessitated parliamentary interference in Indian affairs in the latter half of the

eighteenth century, and examine the provisions of the enactments passed during the period. (1917)

(6) Trace the development of administrative organisation from the conquest of Bengal (1757) to 1836. (1918)

(7) "The British power in India found that it was faced by expansion or destruction." Examine this statement in reference to the period 1790—1800. (1919)

(8) Sketch the relations between the British and the Court of Oudh from the time of Warren Hastings to that of Dalhousie. (1921)

(9) Estimate the greatness of Wellesley as a statesman. (Dec. 1921)

(10) Describe the advantages and disadavantages of the system of Subsidiary Alliances. (April, 1922)

(11) Sketch the relation between Indian and European politics in the early years of the 19th century. (Sept. 1922)

(12) Indicate the steps by which Wellesley made the English the Paramount Power in India. How was the policy of Non-Intervention defended by its advocates? (Sept 1623)

Book V. The Completion of the British Dominion (1805-1858).

(1) Estimate Dalhousie's statesmanship, referring to the chief incidents of his administration. (1913)

(2) Illustrate from the history of the 18th and 19th centuries the merits and defects of an army of Indians organized and trained on European models. (1914)

(3) What services had the Company rendered which might have justified the continuance of its rule after 1857? (1914)

(4) Briefly review the administration of Dalhousie with a view to arriving at an estimate of his statesmanship. (1915)

(5) Sketch the history of the Sikh power in the Punjab down to the death of Ranjit Singh. (1916)

(6) Show, by a general survey of the administration of Lord Hastings, how he completed and consolidated the policy of Lord Wellesley. (1917)

(7) Explain the historical basis of the 'doctrine of lapse,' and show how and with what consequences it was applied in the closing decade of the Company's rule. (1917)

(8) On what grounds was the annexation of Oudh by the E. I. Co. (*a*) criticised and (*b*) justified? (1918)

(9) Analyse and compare the causes of the first and second Sikh wars. (1919)

(10) Trace the steps by which the East India Company was superseded by the British Government in the control of Indian affairs. (1920)

(11) Describe the development of the Sikh power, and the system of administration under Ranjit Singh. (1920)

(12) What was the doctrine of lapse? In what cases was it applied? On what grounds was it assailed and justified? (1919)

(13) Trace the steps by which the Company was brought under Parliamentary control. (Sept. 1922)

(14) Describe the permanent results of Lord Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship. (Sept. 1923)

(15) Sketch the career of Lord William Bentinck, and describe his victories of peace. (April 1923)

Book VI. Progress of India under the Crown (1858—1921).

(1) Give in outline the history of British policy towards Afghanistan. (1913)

(2) Mention the principal changes, introduced by Parliament in the Government of British India since 1833. (1913)

(3) Sketch the causes and course of the Chitral war. (1914)

(4) Illustrate from the history of the North-West Frontier of India the influence of European politics upon Indian history. (1915)

(5) Sketch in outline the chief reforms in the Indian constitution since the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown in 1858. (1916)

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(6) Sketch the relations of the British power with Afghanistan in the nineteenth century. Discuss the soundness of the proposal to neutralise it. (1915)

(7) Show, by one or two typical instances how each succeeding half-century from the battle of Plassey marks a fundamental advance in the foreign policy of the British power towards Indian States. (1917)

(8) Consider the political problems with which the first Lord Minto had to deal, and estimate the measure of his success. (1918)

(9) Trace the development of representative institutions in India from 1861 to the present day. (1919)

(10) Trace the development of the N. W. Frontier Policy of the Indian Government from 1880 to the present time. (1919)

(11) Sketch the history of Mysore during the 19th century. Explain the relation that now exists between the Government of India and the Mysore Government. (1920)

(12) In what way has Western culture contributed to the growth of Indian national sentiment? (1921)

(13) Sketch the progress made in liberalizing the government from 1858 to 1908. (April, 1922)

(14) Give a brief description of the present constitution of British India with respect to (*a*) the legislature, (*b*) the executive council, and (*c*) the powers of the Local Governments. (April, 1923)

(15) Describe the progress of India in Legislature, Social reform, and economic development since 1857. (Sept. 1923)

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